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The Forum

EDITED BY FREDERIC TABER COOPER

JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1907

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The Forum

JULY, 1907

AMERICAN POLITICS

THE PRESIDENTIAL OUTLOOK AND THE PROSPECTIVE ISSUES

BY HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST

THE political storm-centre during the past three months has been the State of Ohio. In that State Mr. Charles P. Taft, brother of William H. Taft, the Secretary of War, placed the latter's name before the country as a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination. Forthwith there was a clash between the Foraker and Taft forces, for there are many friends of Senator Foraker in Ohio who believe that he is Ohio's logical candidate. After many weeks of conferences, during which a factional fight of no mean proportions threatened, it seemed to be agreed that Mr. Taft should receive the support of the State for the Presidential nomination while Mr. Foraker should be returned to the Senate. It is by no means certain, however, that this arrangement will be allowed to stand. An interesting contest may yet be witnessed in the State.

Mr. Taft's Candidacy

The personal aspirations of two prominent men are, however, of minor importance compared with the question whether President Roosevelt is using the power of his position and the influence of his administration to secure the nomination of Mr. Taft. This is the assertion which the friends of Mr. Foraker are making and, if true, would undoubtedly have great effect in aiding their candidate. Fortunately for Mr. Taft and still more fortunately for the country, it is a statement which has no foundation in fact. The President is friendly to Secretary Taft and regards him as a most available man for the Republican nomination. Nobody—and least of all the President—denies this feeling of friendli-

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ness between the President and Mr. Taft; but that the President is undertaking to force the nomination of Mr. Taft upon his party is absolutely false. In the first place, Mr. Roosevelt possesses too much common sense to occupy such a position. He is a close student of American political history and he is well aware of the fact that the American people will not brook executive domination. It has been a long time since any President of the United States undertook to name his own successor. The last successful effort in this direction was made by President Andrew Jackson, who determined that Martin Van Buren should be his legatee and who was able to accomplish his purpose, although the defeat of his party followed four years later. President Hayes attempted to make John Sherman his successor, but failed. On the other hand, any President who desires renomination can almost invariably secure it. President Harrison, for instance, was renominated at Minneapolis against the opposition of almost a majority of the delegates. But when a President dictates, or attempts to dictate, who shall succeed him, the case is regarded in a very different light by the American people. Whatever other acts of omission or commission may be charged against President Roosevelt, he cannot truthfully be accused of attempting to play the Warwick. He will not use the executive power to advance the candidacy of any one man, even though he may cherish an honest desire to see his own policies continued by his successor.

This being the case, the contest for the Republican Presidential nomination is an open one, with a fair field and no favor. If Secretary Taft is all the more popular with the people because it is known that he and President Roosevelt are working in harmony to accomplish desirable ends, the aims and purposes of the one being the aims and purposes of the other, and that, if elected, he will carry out to their full fruition the policies which Mr. Roosevelt has inaugurated, he undoubtedly enters the race with a favorable handicap. This is very different, however, from proving the President guilty of the direct use of executive influence. Moreover, Mr. Taft possesses characteristics which in themselves commend him to the American people. There is no question as to his ability. He has demonstrated his capacity in numerous positions. As an attorney-general of the United States he was an industrious and faithful official; as judge upon the circuit bench in Ohio he was an able, conscientious, and learned jurist; while as Governor of the Philippines he brought order out of chaos, displayed remarkable executive force, and, withal, demonstrated his great tactfulness. Wherever he has been placed he has done his duty faithfully and well, while his personal magnetism is very marked.

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The Strength of Mr. Fairbanks

While the Roosevelt sentiment is very largely embodied in Mr. Taft, the fact must not be overlooked that sentiment does not always produce results. In these days of practical politics it is organization which counts effectively. At the present time Vice-President Fairbanks has the most extensive organization. Mr. Fairbanks is an experienced and wise politician. First of all, he is from Indiana, which is the nursery of shrewd political manipulators, and in addition to this he has the advantage of long association with the late Senator Hanna, who was, unquestionably, one of the most successful political managers this country has ever known. It is true that in some quarters Mr. Fairbanks's candidacy is not regarded seriously. My own opinion is that any discussion which fails to take Mr. Fairbanks into serious consideration is not based upon due appreciation of the political situation. Mr. Fairbanks is, alone of all the candidates, actively working to secure the nomination. He has had his emissaries travelling through the South, where they have been in conference with the Republican leaders; and he has taken occasion to visit some of the Western States in order to confer personally with influential men. It might be said, too, that Mr. Fairbanks occupies a most favorable position. He is not demonstrative nor impulsive and he has few enemies, while, on the other hand, his even-tempered, genial disposition has made him a host of friends. He is regarded with favor by the financial and commercial interests, who know that he is conservative; while he has always manifested a spirit of friendliness and fairness to the laboring classes. All these things are mentioned because they are factors in Mr. Fairbanks's candidacy. Whether they will have weight in the final round-up or whether Mr. Roosevelt's personal popularity will carry everything before it and result in the nomination of a candidate whom he is known to regard with especial favor is a question which cannot be answered at this time.

From the present outlook the next Republican nominee will be either Mr. Taft or Mr. Fairbanks. The nominee must come from the West, inasmuch as the present occupant of the White House is an Eastern man, and outside of Taft and Fairbanks there is no one in the Western field who is available save Mr. Cannon, whose age may bar him from consideration. It looks as if history would repeat itself in that Ohio or Indiana would furnish the Presidential candidate. It would not be surprising if New York was represented on the ticket in the person of Governor Hughes, although conditions in New York are hardly sufficiently settled to afford ground for definite judgment.

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The Demand for Mr. Roosevelt

In the meantime, there is unquestionably a strong demand all over the country for the renomination of President Roosevelt. The feeling has found expression in resolutions adopted by State legislatures, in interviews with prominent Republican leaders, and in editorial utterances. President Roosevelt, more than any of his predecessors, has been the recipient of formal and unsolicited indorsements from State legislatures, while among the rank and file his course has met with similar approval. Take, for instance, the canvass made by the New York *Evening Mail* among the voters of Manhattan and Bronx Boroughs. Four names were selected at random among the voters in each of the 866 election districts, and of the thousand replies received 799 were favorable to Mr. Roosevelt's renomination. Still more significant was the effort of the Des Moines *Capital* to learn the drift of sentiment. Three inquiries were addressed to the chairman of each Republican State committee, asking him for the sentiment in his State with reference to another nomination of President Roosevelt, whether it was probable that his State delegation would be instructed for Roosevelt, and whether the voters had a second choice. It is interesting to present some extracts from the replies which have been received:

NEBRASKA.—"Nebraska Republicans are strongly in favor of continuing Theodore Roosevelt in the Presidency for another term. With all due respect for his repeated declarations that he will not again be a candidate, they feel that the complete success of the policies he has inaugurated demands his renomination."

MINNESOTA.—"It is my opinion, after careful consideration and consultation with some of our leading men, that the sentiment in this State is in favor of sending a delegation to the national convention in favor of tendering President Roosevelt the nomination for another term, whether he is an announced candidate or not."

SOUTH DAKOTA.—"The sentiment in South Dakota is overwhelmingly in favor of the nomination of President Roosevelt for another term. The people of this State are for him and his policies, and they feel that it is his duty to accept another nomination. They know that he can be nominated and elected with practically no opposition."

NORTH DAKOTA.—"There is no doubt in my mind, or in the minds of any one to whom I have spoken in reference to the matter, but that the delegation from this State to the next Republican national convention will be for President Roosevelt for renomination, if there is any likelihood at all that he will accept."

COLORADO.—"The Republicans of this State are all of one accord that the President should be renominated, and there is no question but that the delegation from this State to the national convention will unanimously insist upon tendering him a renomination."

ILLINOIS.—"I believe that ninety-five per cent. of the Republicans in Illinois favor the renomination of President Roosevelt. The sentiment for him among

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Democrats and Republicans is overwhelming. If President Roosevelt cannot be forced to accept a renomination, I believe the Illinois delegation will be for Speaker Cannon, if he shall be a candidate for the Presidency."

These are but a few expressions, submitted by the men who are at the head of the Republican organization in their respective States. The opinions of Southern Republican chairmen have been intentionally omitted, inasmuch as their States do not contribute electoral votes to the Republican column. The result of the inquiries is to show a demand from every section of the country that Mr. Roosevelt shall again consent to be the Republican standard-bearer. In addition to this public expression, Mr. Roosevelt's mail is simply deluged with personal appeals to him to yield to the almost unanimous wish of his party.

And yet, notwithstanding the tremendous pressure which is being brought to bear upon him, notwithstanding the apparent determination of the State delegations to renominate him in spite of himself, notwithstanding the predictions freely made that Mr. Roosevelt will not dare to disregard the wish of his party in convention assembled, the fact remains that Mr. Roosevelt will not be the next Republican candidate for the Presidency. He may be nominated; no one can prevent the convention from taking this action; but no one can force him to accept the nomination, and he will not accept it.

President Roosevelt, on the night of November 8, 1904, immediately after he had been assured of his election by a majority which was almost unparalleled, issued the following statement:

I am deeply sensible of the honor done me by the American people in thus expressing their confidence in what I have done and have tried to do. I appreciate to the full the solemn responsibility this confidence imposes upon me, and I shall do all that in my power lies not to forfeit it. On the 4th of March next I shall have served three and a half years, and this three and a half years constitutes my first term. The wise custom which limits the President to two terms regards the substance, and not the form, and under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination.

From that period to the present time President Roosevelt has not only not deviated from his decision thus announced but has taken every occasion to reiterate it. He has told innumerable callers at the White House that he would not be a candidate under any circumstances; he emphasized his position at a semi-public dinner in Washington last winter; and he has called the attention of each one of his correspondents to his declaration above quoted. People who believe that Mr. Roosevelt can be forced to stultify himself do not know him. They fail to estimate rightly his high appreciation of his own word of honor. He is a

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man who regards with the utmost sacredness every obligation, and to insinuate that he is capable of deception, political or otherwise, is simply to show complete ignorance of his character. Consequently, it may be set down once for all that the Republican party must seek another candidate than Mr. Roosevelt, even though it believes that the renomination of Mr. Roosevelt would insure success.

Democratic Apathy and Mr. Bryan

The programme for the Democratic party seems to be definitely settled. Mr. Bryan is to be the Presidential nominee, although, as the New York *Sun* points out, the nomination which is conceded to him is due very largely to Democratic apathy. The *Sun*, by the way, is endeavoring to arouse interest in other leading Democrats, and has recently eulogized Senator Daniel, of Virginia, and Senator Culberson, of Texas. It does not appear, however, that the *Sun* is making much headway in breaking down the Bryan strength, and up to the present time there is certainly no crystallization of strength around any other name.

Mr. Bryan, who has been twice defeated, may not want to jeopardize his party for the third time, or it may be that before the convention is held a goodly number of his party may themselves question the wisdom of his nomination. In that remote but not impossible contingency two men seem to be regarded with most favor—Judge Gray, of Delaware, in the East, and Governor Johnson, of Minnesota, in the West. Judge Gray is a Democrat of the old school. He entered public life as a United States Senator in 1885, and during his fourteen years of service was identified largely with foreign affairs. He came into especial prominence, however, through his devotion to President Cleveland, and it was with especial reference to him that Senator Morgan, of Alabama, applied the term of "Cleveland cuckoo." In the great campaign of 1896 Judge Gray was against Bryan, openly affiliating with the gold-standard Democrats. It would be a remarkable corollary on the mutability of Democratic principles if Judge Gray should be nominated. Even if he should be named, the probability that he would meet a fate similar to that experienced by Judge Parker, of New York, makes the effort to nominate him hardly worthy of serious consideration.

Some of these days, if not next year, the attention of the Democratic party will be attracted to the man who is serving his second term as Governor of Minnesota. John A. Johnson is a Democrat who has invaded a stronghold of Republicanism and achieved a remarkable victory. He is a typical example of the self-made man. Of Swedish descent, he experienced in the early years of his life all the disadvantages of poverty.

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His education was necessarily limited, especially as he was compelled to go to work at an early age to help support his mother, who had been deserted by a dissolute husband. In his early struggles to make headway in the world, Governor Johnson laid the foundation of a sterling character; and when opportunity made him the Democratic gubernatorial nominee, his many excellent qualities, and, above all, his unquestioned integrity, brought him success at the polls. His re-election followed as a matter of course; and his career as governor has demonstrated that he may well be considered as in the Presidential class. From the Democratic point of view he is particularly available, for he believes in the principles which have become a part, apparently, of the Democratic faith. He does not go as far as Mr. Bryan in suggesting Government ownership of railroads, but in his last message to the legislature he proposed a reduction of passenger rates to two cents a mile and recommended that stringent laws be passed, in harmony with those of the general Government, relating to interstate commerce, "which would serve to make impossible the granting of rebates and special privileges to classes in the handling of State business." He favors an income tax; he would have a heavy license tax imposed upon corporations; he advises the adoption of a constitutional amendment providing for a direct initiative and referendum; and, in fact, he is *en rapport* with every modern Democratic tenet. As a Presidential possibility he is handicapped by the fact that the East is totally ignorant of him. It is doubtful whether he has ever met even a small proportion of the prominent Democrats of the East; but in the Northwest, where his great triumph in bringing Minnesota into the Democratic column gave him enormous prestige, and where his administration has been marked by universal approval, he fills a considerable portion of the political horizon.

Government Ownership of Railroads

Mr. Bryan has not advanced his own cause by his advocacy of Government ownership of railroads and of the initiative and referendum. It is true that he has recently taken occasion to emphasize the fact that in his Madison Square Garden speech he referred to Government ownership as an "ultimate" solution of the railroad problem and not as an immediate question. "I am not sure," he says, "that the people are ready to consider the question of public ownership, and until they are ready to consider that question the interest is centred in regulation." In other words, Mr. Bryan is not anxious to make Government ownership an issue at the present time—a very wise decision in view of the criticism which his declaration has elicited. In the matter of regulation, however,

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he will find enthusiastic support, especially when he tempers the strictness of regulation to a point where the latter "will not prevent a reasonable return on money invested." This is a legitimate and defensible position, while the advocacy of Government ownership opens up a wide field for honest disagreement. Even if the economic side of the question be not taken into consideration, the ownership of the trunk lines by the Government, with a consequent increase in the offices to be filled by executive appointment, and a retinue of employees dependent for their daily bread upon the party in power, would introduce a political factor into our Government which might lead to unexpected and disastrous results. However, Government ownership of railroads is, as Mr. Bryan says, an ultimate and not an immediate question, and the subject does not require discussion.

The initiative and referendum are an entirely different matter. It is, in this country, a distinctly Populistic idea and was first advocated by the Populists in their national convention. Mr. Bryan did not attempt to force it upon the Democratic party when he practically dictated the platforms at Chicago in 1896 and at St. Louis in 1900, but unquestionably a very large number of Democrats view the system with favor. In a certain sense the referendum is already recognized in this country because no Constitutional amendment becomes effective until after it has been ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the States. An initiative is also suggested in the clause which directs the assembling of a convention to amend the Constitution whenever the same shall be requested by two thirds of the States. Mr. Bryan has not thus far elaborated his idea, so that it is impossible to determine to what extent he would put his suggestion into practical operation. The only object-lesson is to be found in Switzerland, where the initiative and referendum have been in force for about half a century. In some of the Swiss cantons laws as well as constitutional amendments are submitted to the people after they have been enacted, and the verdict has not always been in accord with the legislative action. There are two forms of referendum, one optional and the other obligatory. The first submits to the people only those measures of a general character for which the referendum is asked, while the other works arbitrarily, the people being given the final voice without any appeal upon their part. Experience has shown that where every law is submitted to the people it is difficult to excite public interest, and the number of votes cast is in slight proportion as compared with the voting population. It has also developed in Switzerland that the referendum is invoked much more frequently than the initiative. In this connection an interesting fact is asserted by a recent writer upon the subject. It is said that the net result of the initiative during twenty-four

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years in the great democratic canton of Zurich was the enactment of only three laws to which the legislature was opposed, and every one of the three was of doubtful value.

The conditions in Switzerland are so different from those obtaining in the United States that it is extremely difficult to judge whether a system which has operated there more or less successfully can be practical here. The idea is one that will bear thorough discussion, but whether it will ever prove a potent campaign issue is doubtful.

Federal Control of Corporations

The activity manifested by President Roosevelt in regulating the railroads and in curbing the power of the trusts has given impetus to kindred legislation in every State. The legislatures which are now or which recently have been in session have either enacted or have had under serious consideration measures providing for cheaper railroad fares or for State control of public service corporations. Never before in their history have the railroads been brought face to face with so much adverse legislation. If, as was formerly asserted, they controlled State legislatures, the period of that control belongs to the past. To-day they are helpless before the onslaught of bills affecting their revenues and management. In the New York legislature alone there have been introduced more than one hundred bills relating to railroads, several of these measures proposing a flat rate of two cents a mile. Precedent for the enactment of one of these latter bills has been set in several States. Nebraska, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania are among the States which have enacted a two-cent rate. In Pennsylvania the Philadelphia and Reading road has retaliated by increasing the price of commutation tickets and proposes to test the law in the courts, alleging that it practically means confiscation. In North Carolina, Alabama, and North Dakota the rate has been fixed at two and a half cents. The South Dakota legislature, during the session recently ended, enacted laws prohibiting the giving of railroad passes or other favors; prohibiting railroads from making campaign contributions; authorizing the State Railroad Commission to make a passenger rate schedule not to exceed two and a half cents per mile; prohibiting railroad employees to work longer periods than sixteen hours, followed by eight hours' rest, except in case of storm or accident; and a reciprocal demurrage act, fixing the amount of damages to be paid by the roads or shippers for delay in furnishing or unloading cars. It is no exaggeration to say that nearly every other State legislature dealt with the railroad situation with almost equal thoroughness.

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In fact, the antagonism to corporations—and especially railroad corporations—is so widespread as to excite comment and undoubtedly accounts in large degree for the era of depression which has prevailed in Wall Street. From a political point of view, this opposition presages a bitter struggle in the next Presidential campaign on the part of the corporations to save themselves from legislation which may be still more disastrous. The President, in the meanwhile, continues to hew the line. In his latest deliverance, the speech at Indianapolis on Memorial Day, he emphasized his position in his usual vigorous and characteristic manner. "Every federal law dealing with corporations or with railroads," said the President, "that has been put upon the statute books during the past six years has been a step in advance in the right direction. All action taken by the administration under these and the pre-existing laws has been just and proper." Certainly there is no tone of apology or retraction in this declaration, no evidence that the President proposes to change in jot or tittle the policy upon which he has entered. Indeed we have his own assurance that "there will be no halt in the forward movement toward a full development of this policy." We have, further, a definite statement as to the result which the President desires to accomplish. "There must be vested in the federal Government," he says, "a full power of supervision and control over the railways doing interstate business, a power in many respects analogous to and as complete as that the Government exercises over the national banks." The President aims directly at the abolition of over-capitalization. He desires, also, to secure complete publicity of the affairs of the railroads and, indeed, advocates national incorporation as one method of obtaining federal supervision over the future issuance of stocks and bonds. More than this, he would extend the ægis of federal power over railroads operating entirely within the States, finding warrant therefor in that clause of the Constitution which grants to the national Government power to establish post roads, "and therefore, by necessary implication," he adds, "power to take all action necessary in order to keep them at the highest point of efficiency." This is, to say the least, a very liberal construction of the Constitution in regard to federal power, and will form the text for discussion in Congress next winter. We may expect, also, that the President will take occasion to present his idea in more complete fashion and that he will ask Congress to enact legislation along the lines of his declared policy. The President's courage in dealing with the railroad situation will undoubtedly appeal strongly to the popular mind, even though his suggestion as to federal jurisdiction over State roads may not be universally accepted.

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The absolute lack of a definite political issue for the next campaign seems to weigh upon the minds of Democratic leaders. Henry Watterson advises that the party shall adopt "Back to the Constitution" as its battle cry. He regards it as "a kind of irony of fate that the Democratic party should be so ill prepared to take advantage of the situation," and he lauds the Constitution as a document which is still vital, "although all parties, more or less, have deflected from its mandates and teachings." He would have the Democrats take up the gage against that party which is committed to a defiance of the Constitution, believing that this defiance would stir the enthusiasm of the American voters. Senator Rayner, of Maryland, evidently had the same idea in his mind when, in the course of a speech at the Parker-Jefferson dinner in New York, after declaring that the next Democratic platform should be brief and pertinent, including a plank for a low tariff and for commercial reciprocity with the trading nations of the world, he added:

> I would then add a plank declaring that there is no such thing as an unwritten constitution of the United States. . . . In obedience to the Constitution, I would then unequivocally declare for the supremacy of the States and not yield the smallest portion of their sovereign rights over matters of local and domestic concern that lie clearly within their province and jurisdiction.

With all due respect to these eminent gentlemen, it would seem as if there would be great difficulty in arousing the people on this question of the rights of the States. It was pointed out in the last issue of THE FORUM that the great mass of the American people are demanding an extension rather than a diminution of federal control. The question, too, is an abstract one, lacking the personal interest which is so essential in stimulating deep feeling. There is a small proportion of thoughtful men who are honestly concerned in restricting federal control and who would insure to the States the largest degree of authority. The bulk of the voters, however, know little about the relations of the States to the federal Government, and they care less.

The Issue of Tariff Reform

There is one subject, on the other hand, which comes into the closest and most intimate relation to every citizen. This is the tariff. The duties imposed by law upon imports into the United States affect food, clothing, wages, and, in fact, each item of daily existence. There is, therefore, much wisdom in the declaration of ex-President Grover Cleveland. "It behooves Democrats," he says, "to lose no time in bringing to the front the issue of tariff reform and in focussing the attention of the country upon it. Tariff reform is the issue that will clarify the atmosphere, solidify the friends of Democracy, and bring victory to the

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party." It is true that the record of the Democrats in connection with the tariff has not been one to which they can point with pride. The era of industrial depression in 1893 was not, in my opinion, due to the operation of the Sherman silver-purchasing law as much as it was to the stagnation caused by the closing of thousands of factories while the manufacturers waited for the Democratic tariff bill to become a law. The measure itself, it will be remembered, led Mr. Cleveland to make charges of "perfidy and dishonor" against certain members of his party, and the incidents which attended the passage of the bill were certainly not calculated to bring credit upon the then dominant party. At the same time conditions have been reached in this country which cause public unrest. The cost of the necessaries of life, nearly all controlled by trusts, was never so high as to-day, and thousands upon thousands of people exist only by the exercise of an economy which amounts almost to deprivation. If, as Mr. Cleveland asserts, the tariff is the father of the trusts, and if in it "all forms of corporate injustice find their origin and their refuge," it is easy to appreciate the possibility of really stirring the public mind in the direction of reform. It is not the province of this article to argue the antagonistic sides of the tariff question. We are simply discussing the available issues for the Democratic party; and from this point of view it must be admitted that a reform in the tariff is almost the sole topic which will personally appeal to the millions of voters in the land.

The fact that this situation is being recognized by certain leading Republicans who have hitherto either been silent upon the subject or have opposed any change in the tariff is significant. The interview in which Senator Hopkins, of Illinois, asserted that Speaker Cannon was not a "standpatter" aroused more comment than any political utterance of recent months; while the candidacy of Secretary Taft has been assisted rather than retarded by the charge made against him by the American Protective Tariff League that he is in favor of revision. The influential Republican newspapers are warning the leaders of their party not to disregard the growing demand for reform. "When so conservative a man as Speaker Cannon recognizes the duty of conforming to new conditions," says the Philadelphia *Press*, "the current of feeling cannot be mistaken." The *Record* of the same city points out that Massachusetts elected a Democratic governor on the tariff reform issue at the same election which gave the electoral votes of the State to Mr. Roosevelt. The National Association of Manufacturers sees the handwriting on the wall and has called upon the Republican party to revise the tariff, knowing that if this is not done the schedules will

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be changed by a hostile Congress. Even in rock-ribbed Republican Maine there is great unrest over the tariff, while the disaffection in the Northwest has been growing for years. The Democratic party will certainly not be alive to its greatest opportunity if it does not push the tariff question to the front in the next campaign. It may not win even with that issue, but it has none other that will appeal so forcibly to the bulk of the American voters.

In this connection it may be remarked that any effort to divorce the tariff from politics is, in the language of the late Senator Ingalls, an iridescent dream. The National Association of Manufacturers, while asking for revision, adopted a declaration to the effect that to secure an intelligent revision of the tariff laws there should be established a non-partisan tariff commission, not unlike the present Interstate Commerce Commission, which should investigate thoroughly and scientifically the various schedules and from time to time submit their conclusions in the form of recommendations to Congress and the President. It is curious that men of the intelligence indicated by membership in the association should be so blind to the fundamental principles upon which our Government rests as to offer seriously this proposition. It would be impossible, in the first place, to secure a non-partisan commission. Each member of the commission would be either a Republican or a Democrat and, as such, would hold either to the protective or the tariff-for-revenue-only idea. Even should the commission agree, however, there is no way by which its findings could be made effective until after they had been submitted to Congress and enacted into law. Here, again, politics would be interjected into the consideration of the question. The duty of determining the character and even the details of the tariff rests with the Representatives of the people, who would not be likely to surrender this prerogative. In fact, there was a tariff commission in 1883 and its recommendations were unheeded. A similar fate would await the work of any other tariff commission; while the suggestion that the schedules be scientifically investigated is absurd, considering the alertness of the Representatives in Congress to guard the interests of their particular sections. In addition to all this, the policy to be followed in the preparation of the tariff schedules is one that must be decided by the people, and as long as this condition of affairs exists and as long as opposing parties hold diverse views upon this economic question, the tariff will be a factor in every political campaign.

When the new Congress assembles next December the members of the Democratic minority in the House will attempt to institute some reforms. They will not, of course, be successful, but they desire to go

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upon record. Some of the changes to be supported by them are worthy of consideration.

The Rules of the House

In the first place they propose to secure the adoption in the Democratic caucus of a rule abolishing the present system whereby the minority leader on the floor fills the minority places on the various committees, and substituting therefor a steering committee of nine members which shall name the Democratic assignments to the committees. In the last Congress Representative John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi, the minority leader, was intrusted by Speaker Cannon with the task of assigning his fellow-Democrats. This one-man power does not appeal to the Democrats. They think it savors too much of the Republican system. Whether Speaker Cannon will be influenced by the action of the Democratic caucus is a question not yet determined. It is doubtful whether he has been consulted. The matter being entirely in his own hands, the probability is that he would acquiesce in any arrangement which concerns only the Democratic minority.

When the Democrats go beyond this, however, and announce their intention of advocating a rule that any bill which is favored by a majority of the membership of the House shall be allowed by the Speaker to come before the House for consideration, they enter upon a broad and interesting field. The suggestion seems eminently proper and yet it is safe to say that it will not be adopted. The Speaker, whether he be Mr. Cannon or any one else, is not likely to yield without a struggle the enormous power which is now reposed in the occupant of the Speaker's chair, and if the future is to be judged by the past, the wish of the Speaker will be the law of the House. A very notable instance of the disregard of the wishes of a majority of the House occurred during the term of the late Thomas B. Reed, when he declined to allow consideration of a bill initiating the isthmian canal enterprise notwithstanding the fact that nearly the entire House formally requested him to do so. It is strange that such power is given to the Speaker and still more strange that the Representatives of the people acquiesce in the system. Very many of them protest in private, but no one has yet proved powerful enough to organize effective opposition. Even now there are rumors that the next Congress will witness an attack upon the present rules; but the probability is that when the members assemble the effort will fail to materialize.

It would seem, however, as if there ought to be a change in the rules. Under the present system the Speaker is the autocrat of Congress. He appoints the committees in consonance with his own personal

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views; through the exercise of his authority to recognize members he can ignore Representatives who propose legislation which he does not favor; and through the committee on rules, which, in its last analysis, is himself, he controls the consideration of all measures of importance. In other words, the House of Representatives no longer consists of 356 members, but of one man, the Speaker. It is a condition which is un-Republican, un-Democratic, and un-American. The criticism which it invites is not directed against Mr. Cannon, who will, undoubtedly, be again chosen to wield the gavel, and who is deservedly popular. The question is not one of personality but of a system. There ought to be a larger latitude for the exercise of the responsibility which rests upon each member of Congress as the Representative of a constituent part of the great republic. As it is now, individuality is suppressed and independence is apt to be disastrous.

The only foundation upon which the present method rests is that it prevents unseemly filibustering and accomplishes results. In a sense this is true. The days of bitter partisan struggles in the House have passed away. It would be impossible at the present time to reproduce the days spent in dilatory roll-calls and the nights spent in vain efforts to secure a quorum. Contests such as marked the Democratic opposition to the effort to place the federal army at the polls or Republican antagonism to free-trade legislation do not now occur because measures are placed before the House by order of the committee on rules and no opportunity for filibustering opposition is allowed. It is true that in the olden days much time was apparently wasted; but it is also true that when a filibustering campaign was inaugurated the reasons for and against the measure which excited the contest became emphasized to the entire country, and thus political issues were formulated. In short, filibustering was not without its value. It served to attract widespread attention to the legislation which the dominant party was seeking to enact, and if the principle involved was sufficiently vital to warrant prolonged struggle the subject was thoroughly discussed throughout the country as long as the filibuster lasted. In the present age of expeditious and summary business action, however, it is not likely that there will be a return to the ancient filibuster; and the problem which presents itself, therefore, is, how can the domination of the Speaker be lessened without interfering with the orderly and steady transaction of Congressional affairs? Some of the leading men in Congress are now devoting themselves to a solution of this problem; and when they come together next December they hope to have some suggestions which will produce practical and beneficial results.

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Although the election of delegates to the next national conventions will not occur until next spring, the time is appropriate for a discussion of the question whether or not the present plan of holding conventions cannot be materially improved.

A Proposed Convention Reform

It has been my fortune to have attended some ten or a dozen national political conventions, and it is safe to say that the proceedings in each of them have been seriously retarded if not strongly influenced by the crowd that was in attendance. In an assemblage of twenty thousand people even the most stentorian presiding officer cannot secure good order, and anything like quiet and dignified attention on the part of the delegates is almost impossible. The most casual observer at one of these conventions must have been impressed with the difficulties that constantly beset the chairman, while during the period of nominating speeches the enthusiastic and frequently partisan throng has practically taken possession of the auditorium. At more than one convention the judicious distribution of tickets, so that the galleries might be thronged with noisy supporters of some particular candidate, has not been without its effect in influencing the delegates. The presence of the vast crowd, with its concomitant noise and disorder, is not in harmony with the important purpose which brings the delegates together. It would seem better to have the latter assemble in a hall not more than sufficiently large to accommodate their number, and there, with dignity and self-restraint, the nominees of the party could be selected. The proceedings would be deliberate and thoughtful; the presentation of the party policies and party candidates would not be characterized by bombast and display; and the delegates would be impressed with the dignity and importance of the occasion.

It may be said that without a convention characterized by brass bands and noisy demonstrations the delegates would not be spurred up to a proper degree of enthusiasm and that, indeed, a wet blanket would be thrown over the party at the very beginning of a campaign. I do not believe that this assertion is well founded. In the earlier days of the republic, and even as late as the Civil War, there were no vast gatherings at national conventions, and the campaigns did not lack in fervor or loyalty. At any rate, it might be a good experiment to abolish the crowds which attend a national convention and determine whether or not the business of the convention can be conducted in orderly fashion.

Henry Litchfield West.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

ENGLAND'S COLONIAL PROBLEMS AND JAPANESE AMBITIONS

BY A. MAURICE LOW

Cinderella in the Imperial Household

It is tradition in British politics that the Liberal party is a "Little England" party and treats the Colonies as the Cinderella in the Imperial household, while the Conservatives believe in Imperialism and see in the Colonies the perpetuation and rejuvenation of the Empire. Parties, like individuals, are the creatures of their traditions and are unconsciously influenced by their training. No British statesman to-day can afford to assume the contemptuous attitude toward the Colonies that Cobden did, for example, but Cobdenism still survives in Liberal councils and a Liberal government. The conference of the premiers of the self-governing colonies of Great Britain recently concluded in London has missed its greatest opportunity to bring about the federation of the Empire.

At the very outset of the conference a dispute as to its official title marked the division between the Empire and England. It may seem of no consequence whether the gathering should be known as the "Imperial Conference" or the "Imperial Council"; to the ordinary reader it may seem only the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee, but that question of name was vital and expressed in a single word the hopes and aspirations on the one side—more important than that even, the statesmanship, the vision, and the imagination to federate the loosely knit British Empire—and on the other, the selfish, unimaginative, narrow view of bureaucracy, to whom the Colonies are still children, and children so unruly and so conscious of their own strength that parental discipline must be exercised lightly to preserve the fiction of authority. There is this difference between the "Imperialist" and the "Little Englander." The former recognizes and admits that the Colonies are subject to the British flag purely because they elect to be; the latter knows it but will not acknowledge it. One need not stop to ask on which side is to be found statesmanship, or which school is the best guarantee for the maintenance intact of the Empire. Never again will any British Government attempt to coerce a British self-governing colony. The times of George III. and Lord North have gone, never to return. To-day the only

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bonds that link the Empire are those of mutual interest, and whenever the people of Canada or Australia or any other self-governing colony feel convinced that their interests will be advanced by independence or union with any other country, separation will come about, without the clash of arms or the shedding of blood. Nevermore will Englishmen face Englishmen in hostile array.

The genesis of the conference dates back to 1887, when the first conference was held, which was purely incidental to Queen Victoria's jubilee, and was, if one may use the expression without disrespect, merely a sideshow to an imperial pageant. It was almost oriental in its conception, this scheme to bring to the capital of the world's empire the real rulers of sea-flung colonies and to show to the world that the might of the Empire rested on the spirit of democracy. It was theatrical enough, and withal so essentially practical that it would have delighted the heart of Lord Beaconsfield, who was never so happy as when he pulled off a great *coup* that, seemingly bizarre, was worthy of a man with no more imagination than that of a jellyfish. Ten years later there was a second conference, but again the premiers assembled in London to lend dignity to the second jubilee of the Queen, and again in 1902 they met, brought together to be officially represented at the coronation of King Edward rather than assembled to discuss their own affairs. The conference held this year was the first when the real purpose was the consideration of the affairs of the Empire.

Unofficially named the Colonial Conference, it was seen at once that the name was a misnomer, as the objects were Imperial rather than Colonial. As usual there were two elements, the Progressives and the Conservatives. The former, comprising the prime ministers of Australia, New Zealand, Cape Colony, and Natal, wanted the conference to develop into an imperial council; the creation of a body in which the Empire would be represented by delegates, so that the entire Empire could be brought together in one room and across the table mutual differences could be reconciled, and concessions, sacrifices even, made when it was for the good of the Empire at large. The Conservatives, supported by Lord Elgin, the Colonial Secretary, and ably seconded by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Prime Minister of Canada, and General Botha, the leader of the Boers in the war against Great Britain and now the first Premier of the self-governing colony of the Transvaal, opposed the idea of a council and approved the existing system by which the Colonial Office is supreme.

It is only rarely one is reminded of the extremely complicated and cumbersome machinery by which the British Empire is governed. Parliament rules the United Kingdom; the Colonial Office rules the

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Colonies, but the self-governing colonies, Canada, Australia, and the others, while nominally under the control of the Colonial Office, have their own parliaments and their own responsible ministers, who are subject not in the least to the control of the Colonial Office or the crown, but solely to the political party that has called them into power. Yet in each colony there is a governor-general nominally appointed by the crown, but in fact by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, who is the representative of the crown; but the governor-general has no real power, as all power is centred in the hands of the colonial prime minister as the representative of the people. In the other colonies, Jamaica for instance, which is a crown colony and not a self-governing colony, the seat of authority is in London, as the governor, appointed by the British Government, is assisted by a council consisting partly of appointed and partly of elected members; but as the appointed members are in a majority the government, which is the governor and his official members of the council, controls the situation. India, which is not a colony but a dependency, is governed by the Secretary of State for India, who is a member of the British Cabinet, with his office in London, and is never required officially to visit India; and the Secretary is represented in India by the Viceroy, who is assisted by a council, the members of which are appointed by the Government. The real government of India is the Viceroy, subject only to the veto of the Secretary of State, who is the mouthpiece of the Cabinet. The Viceroy of India has perhaps more autocratic power than any ruler in the world, and it is only when his policy is opposed to that of the British Government that he meets resistance.

The complaint made by the reformers—a very just one it seems to the writer with only an imperfect knowledge of Colonial Office methods and red-tape bureaucracy—is that the Colonial Office as a rule has only slight sympathy with the Colonies and an even smaller understanding of their needs. No matter how able the Secretary of State for the Colonies may be and how well organized his office, this is almost inevitable.

The Secretary is compelled to rely on his subordinates. His subordinates, constituting the permanent secretarial staff, get into a rut and are too far removed from the Colonies to be in touch with them and to be able to look at things eye to eye with the colonial. Perhaps nothing could more quickly bring about a better understanding than an interchange of officials between the Colonial Office in London and the Colonies, by which a certain number of Englishmen serve for a few years in the Colonies and then return to London, in the interval their places being filled by Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders, who when they returned to their own countries would have a more sympathetic comprehension of

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the difficulties of government and a personal knowledge which now they acquire only at second hand.

Although the reformers were not able to commit the Government to the establishment of a council of the Empire, at least a beginning has been made in that direction. The conference adopted these resolutions:

The Empire in One Room

That it will be to the advantage of the Empire if a Conference, to be called the Imperial Conference, is held every four years, at which questions of common interest may be discussed and considered as between his Majesty's Government and his Governments of the self-governing Dominions beyond the seas. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom will be *ex officio* president, and the Prime Ministers of the self-governing Dominions *ex officio* members of the Conference. The Secretary of State for the Colonies will be an *ex officio* member of the Conference and will take the chair in the absence of the president. He will arrange for such Imperial Conferences after communication with the Prime Ministers of the respective Dominions. Such other Ministers as the respective Governments may appoint will also be members of the Conference—it being understood that, except by special permission of the Conference, each discussion will be conducted by not more than two representatives from each Government, and that each Government will have only one vote.

That it is desirable to establish a system by which the several Governments represented shall be kept informed during the periods between the Conferences in regard to matters which have been, or may be subject for discussion, by means of a permanent secretarial staff charged, under the direction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with the duty of obtaining information for the use of the Conference, of attending to its resolutions, and of conducting correspondence on matters relating to its affairs.

That upon matters of importance requiring consultation between two or more Governments which cannot conveniently be postponed until the next Conference, or involving subjects of a minor character, or such as call for detailed consideration, subsidiary conferences should be held between representatives of the Governments concerned, especially chosen for the purpose.

It would have been better if an independent office had been created to act as the intermediary between the various governments rather than to make it an adjunct of the Colonial Office, but complete reform is not to be expected at once. A very important step has been taken, and it will now be easier to take the next and even more advanced step when the next conference is held four years hence.

But what has the conference really accomplished and in what way has it served to rivet the bonds of empire? Lord Elgin at the close of the conference said it had been a success "from the point of view of business." The point of view is everything, and the Colonial Office

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point of view is not that of the colonial premiers, for in practical business results the conference produced nothing, and it was solely in the hope of doing business that the premiers came from across the seas. Two things a majority of the premiers hoped to see accomplished. One was a system of imperial preference, an imperial *zollverein* or protective system within the Empire, by which the Colonies should be given access to the home market on more advantageous terms than those accorded to nations not part of the Empire; the other was the granting of subsidies by the imperial Government to ocean steamship lines so as to bring the colonial producers closer to the British market and keep the carrying trade of the Empire under the British flag. Both projects were negatived, although they were urged with great vigor by Mr. Alfred Deakin, the Prime Minister of Australia, who has made a profound impression upon the British public by his oratory, his ability, and the interpretation he gives to imperialism. But it was hardly to be expected that a government elected on a free-trade platform in a campaign when free trade as opposed to a limited measure of protection was the great issue before the electorate could be induced to nibble at protection no matter how sugar-coated. Mr. Deakin offered on behalf of his government and the other colonies supporting preference a resolution "that it is desirable that the United Kingdom grant preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the Colonies." Mr. Asquith, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, replying for the Government, showed that further discussion of the question would be merely a waste of time. The people of England, he said, had declared in favor of free trade and the Government could accept no infringement of that policy. It was a question of principle and there could be no compromise.

Nor was anything accomplished in the way of subsidies. The Government showed sympathy with the proposal to increase mail and shipping facilities, but when it came to translating that sympathy into action the Government discovered that it could not conscientiously support any scheme involving subsidies, and without a money grant from the imperial treasury sympathy is of little value. In short, in the way of practical business the conference accomplished little if anything, and there is no minimizing the fact that with the exception of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and General Botha the premiers left England disappointed and somewhat chagrined, and this feeling was shown by the sympathy of the conference with Sir Robert Bond, the Premier of Newfoundland, who succeeded in bringing the fisheries dispute with the United States before the conference. He pointed out that an attempt on the part of the British Government to override or abrogate a local statute was in derogation of autonomous rights, and he urged upon the Government to protect the

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fishing rights of Newfoundland for the enjoyment of the colonists. Lord Elgin regretted the inability of the Government to do anything in the matter, and Sir Robert Bond is reported to have made a somewhat passionate reply, telling the Colonial Secretary, "this is a gross humiliation and neglect which you would not dare offer to a colony powerful enough to be able to give effect to its resentment. It is most unjust, and I repeat again that you are deliberately neglecting us for the sake of American interests." While it is evident that the sympathy of the conference was with Sir Robert Bond rather than with Lord Elgin, the matter was not one which in any way came before the conference, although its effect will probably be to make the Colonies more tenacious of their rights and less disposed to yield them when those rights are involved in treaty stipulations; and it would not be surprising if this feeling should be reflected in the pending negotiations between the United States and Great Britain to settle the disputed questions between the United States and the Dominion of Canada. Some time ago it was current belief that Canada was as anxious as the United States to settle questions that have vexed the three governments for a great many years, but it is now understood that while Canada will not oppose a settlement it will have to be on her own terms, and she shows such indifference that the Foreign and Colonial Offices as well as the State Department are somewhat discouraged. Much as the present British Government desires to maintain the most amicable relations with the United States it will not make the mistake of attempting to purchase those relations at the price of coercing Canada, and, in fact, it would be difficult to coerce Canada even if the inclination existed. Canada as a colony is not possessed of the inherent right of sovereignty, the treaty-making power, but while nominally treaties affecting the Dominion are made through the British Foreign Office they must meet with the approval of Canada. The time will undoubtedly come when Canada will insist upon negotiating her own treaties just as she now makes her own tariffs, and when that time comes it will cut away another strand from the frail rope that binds the Dominion to the motherland, but British statesmen are doing nothing recklessly to hasten events that destiny cannot escape. For the present Canada asks nothing so much as to be let alone. She is prosperous, rapidly growing in wealth and population and beginning to feel the confidence of strength. The time has gone by when Canada would permit herself to be used as a pawn in Anglo-American diplomacy. The legislative act of Newfoundland may be set aside by the home government because Newfoundland is too feeble to resist and too insignificant commercially to offer reprisals, but Canada cannot be thus contemptuously ignored. Colony though she

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is, she demands to be treated with the respect due to a nation, and any negotiatons between her and the United States must be on a plane of equality; the fact that the United States is richer, stronger, and more populous is not an argument that has weight with Canada.

Ireland Rejects Birrell Home Rule

It has not often been known in British politics that two great bills should be fathered by the same man in two successive sessions and that both should meet with defeat. In the last session Mr. Augustine Birrell, as the president of the Board of Education, who was a member of the Cabinet and not merely the head of a local municipal board as many Americans might imagine, after strenuous opposition from the Unionists passed his educational bill through the House of Commons only to find it blocked in the House of Lords. Rather than risk a contest with the upper chamber which might force a dissolution or compel an admission of defeat, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman decided to shelve the bill for the present and to make the Irish "Home Rule" bill the great bill of the session. In the interval between the rising of Parliament and its reassembling a vacancy was created in the office of Chief Secretary of State for Ireland by the appointment of Mr. Bryce as ambassador to the United States, and Mr. Birrell was appointed to the vacancy, who thus became responsible for the passage of the bill in the House.

Called by courtesy "Home Rule," this bill does not in any way aim at giving to the Irish people the management of their own affairs such as is enjoyed by Canadians or Australians, or the local control possessed by American municipalities subject to the general authority exercised by the State legislature. It is not home rule even in a limited form, because Ireland was still to be governed from Westminster; instead of a parliament in Dublin Irish members were to sit in London; the crown was to be represented by the Lord Lieutenant, and the Parliamentary representative of the Government was to be the Chief Secretary, who is a member of the dominant political party. What the bill proposed to do was to take from "Dublin Castle," which is the generic name for the Irish administration, the management and control of certain departments and transfer them to local administrators, which would not essentially change the government of Ireland or vest a large control of their own affairs in the hands of the Irish people. To the Irish it was merely a sop, the "small cake to stop the crying of children when their nurse leaves them for a short time"; to the Unionists it was the entering wedge to the dismemberment of the kingdom. The bill fell far short of the promise held out by the Prime Minister in his reply to the Speech from the Throne at

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the opening of the session, when he said: "Are you prepared to deny that the Irish people are entitled to manage their own domestic affairs so long as they do not interfere with ours, and so long as nothing is done to infringe the supremacy of Parliament, and, therefore, the integrity of the connection between the two countries? It does not make any difference whatever in the proper sense of the word in the solidity of the Empire that the Irish people should have what every self-governing colony has—the power to manage their own affairs." That was the policy, the Premier added, that he was supporting, but he admitted the reform could not be brought about at once. "But let us remove," he said, "the more obvious objections to the present system, and let us do it in such a way to be consistent with the production of that large policy. . . . What we want is to enlist the Irish people, and for my part I should not be too fastidious as to the particular manner in which that was done so long as it was an effective scheme for bringing the Irish people into play in the management of their own affairs."

While the bill was naturally a disappointment to the Irish it went as far as the Premier felt justified in going, and a larger measure of self-government would have led to a break in the Cabinet. It is unfortunate that the Irish rejected the bill, as it might perhaps have been the beginning of better things; the English might in time have been induced to give to Ireland a measure at least of that self-government which they have given the Boers, with whom only so recently they were engaged in war; but the Irish have saved all further trouble for some years to come by refusing to accept the bill. At a convention held in Dublin resolutions were adopted rejecting the bill as being "utterly inadequate in its scope and unsatisfactory in its details." The convention records "that nothing can satisfy the national aspiration of Ireland or bring peace and contentment to our people but a measure of self-government which will give the Irish people complete control of their domestic affairs." The Irish Parliamentary party is urged "to oppose the bill in the House of Commons, and to press upon the Government with all their strength and power to introduce a measure for the establishment of a native parliament with a responsible executive having power over all purely Irish affairs."

The rejection of the Birrell bill is the end of all legislation in that direction for the present. The Government has a majority independent of the Irish party to pass the bill through the Commons if that is deemed advisable, but that would be merely a waste of time. To enact legislation for Ireland which the Irish do not want is foolish. The bill has been dropped, and with its premature death there will be another revival of home-rule agitation, with all its distressing consequences.

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It is a pity that the Irish permit sentiment to submerge the practical. Sentimentally it is a fine thing to starve rather than to take a half loaf when one believes he is entitled to a whole loaf, but is it business? Mr. Redmond, with that rhetorical facility for which he is noted, said at the convention that "the Liberal party must drop the Rosebery idea and come back to the standard of Gladstone," but that, he must know, is impossible. As a matter of practical politics home rule at a jump is out of the question. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has gone as far as he dared. If this is the ultimate concession that a Liberal premier feels justified in making, what reason has Mr. Redmond to expect more from any other man or party? Obviously he can expect nothing. It is to be regretted that the Irish were not content to experiment at least with the measure offered them by Mr. Birrell.

Recalling the Indian Mutiny

Half a century ago the world was thrilled by the horrors and heroism of the Indian Mutiny. Cawnpore and Lucknow and Delhi recall all the fury of a fanatical people determined to avenge its wrongs and shake off the yoke of the alien conqueror, the superb pluck of a handful of English men and women, the romantic rescue when to the stirring sound of the skirling pipes the besieged garrison shut up in Lucknow heard the tune of "The Campbells are Coming" and knew that relief was at last at hand. And with the raising of the siege of Lucknow the power of Nana Sahib was broken and the India that had been won for England by the valor of Clive and saved by the genius of Warren Hastings rested more firmly than ever in her hands.

But time moves, even in the East, where of all things time is of least consequence. The world has witnessed miracles in the last fifty years, and of all miracles none greater than the might of the white race broken by men of a yellow skin. What has held India, what has enabled a handful of white men scattered over a continent to rule 300,000,000 of Asiatics, what has made it possible for the white man to march triumphant through the dark continents and spread his civilization with the aid of the rifle and the Gatling gun, has been the age-long recollection of the triumph of the Greek over the Persian on the plains of Marathon. That was one of the turning-points in history. On that day the white race established its right to the claim of the superior race, and from that day until Russia went to defeat on the plains of Manchuria before the resistless Japanese no white race has ever lowered its standard before men not of its own color.

The invincibility of the European had long passed into a tradition

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which no Oriental disputed. With the resignation of fate almost he accepted as one of the inexorable decrees of the Most High that he was powerless to contend against the white man. Bold men had attempted to defy fate, only to find that fate could not be defied.

Suddenly comes Japan as the Asiatic god in the car. The Orient roused itself from its lethargy and listened. The bazaars hummed with the stories of a brown race, flesh of its flesh, having engaged Russia in battle and defeated her—the Russia that filled the imagination of the East because of her might and mystery. It was incredible, it was unbelievable, at first, but it was true. And if Japan could put her heel on the neck of Russia why might not India bring England to her day of reckoning? The unrest that followed the military success of Japan has been seen in Egypt, where British garrisons have been strengthened; in India, where troops have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness for any emergency and ball cartridges have been served out to volunteer companies hastily enrolled. From the Nile to the Ganges Islam, the greatest force the world has known, is like a troubled sea whose angry mutterings presage the coming storm.

For some time the native press has been using inflammatory and seditious language and making threats against the Government of India. In Lahore the editors of two native papers were committed to prison for sedition and after conviction, on their way to jail, they were loudly cheered by the natives, who insulted and jostled Europeans. A native barrister was arrested and deported to another province under extraordinary powers exercised by the Viceroy by authority of an act passed in 1818. That the situation is considered grave is shown by the statement made by Mr. John Morley, the Secretary of State for India, in replying to questions put to him in the House of Commons. Mr. Morley said:

The latest information from the Punjab shows that the measures taken by the Government of India, with the full consent of his Majesty's Government at home, have sufficed for the maintenance of tranquillity. The city and cantonment of Lahore were on Saturday being patrolled by British and native troops and by the police, and no signs of unusual excitement were observed. The Government of India have ordered the prosecution of a newspaper for publishing a pamphlet (a copy of which, found on a Sikh in London, I hold in my hand) inciting the native troops against the Government. In Eastern Bengal the situation is strained owing to the great bitterness that prevails between Hindus and Mohammedans, the cause of which is to be found in the attempts made by the Hindu agitators to compel the Mohammedans by open violence to abstain from purchasing foreign goods in the markets and fairs, which are extremely numerous in the middle of April. The consequent disorder has assumed a very serious aspect, and created a feeling of great unrest both in the province of Eastern Bengal and in Calcutta. Agitation by seditious speeches in public meetings—a form of disseminating sedition much

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more effective and more immediately dangerous among moderately literate people than agitation through the press—is prevalent, and is impossible to suppress owing to the difficulty of obtaining evidence of speeches as delivered in the vernacular.

Mr. Morley explained that to meet the emergency an order in council had been promulgated prohibiting the holding of meetings to discuss political or public matters unless seven days' notice has been given to the superintendent of police; police officers may be deputed to attend meetings to report the speeches; a district magistrate may prohibit a meeting if in his opinion it is likely to promote sedition or disturb public tranquillity; persons taking part in a prohibited meeting shall be punished by six months' imprisonment. "This measure," Mr. Morley significantly added in conclusion, "is considered to be absolutely necessary by the responsible Government in India in the interest of public safety." Members of the opposition, Mr. Redmond among others, showed an inclination to discuss the question, which would have brought on a partisan debate. Mr. Morley appealed to the patriotism of the House to refrain from partisan discussion in these words: "I doubt very much—I speak quite frankly—whether at this moment it is particularly desirable that those in India who are apparently pursuing a course of agitation—I am not criticising them—but I think it is very undesirable that they should have it in their mouths to say that this House is divided."

The English press is fully alive to the dangers of the situation. The London *Morning Post,* which is one of the best-informed journals in Europe on foreign and colonial affairs, and is always conservative and restrained in its discussion of great questions, says:

The differences of temperament which separate the Englishman from the Egyptian or the Indian are little, if anything, greater than those which distinguish these races from the Japanese, and the true lesson which Japan has given to other Oriental races is that progress can only be attained by a profound change in their national character. But considerations that appeal to self-esteem are not logically scrutinized, and it is foolish to suppose that the general content with which British hegemony is accepted is not liable to be disturbed by passing gusts of irritation, or that the good intentions of an alien Government will always secure it against suspicion or misunderstanding. When, as in both India and Egypt, alien rule has relieved the people from gross oppression it is welcomed as the better of two alternatives; but the strength of the welcome will depend upon the memory of the troubles that precede its establishment, and as the past recedes into forgetfulness, the British officer will be regarded less as a protective than as a controlling authority. There is, however, no reason to believe that the mass of the people either in India or in Egypt regard our rule with any active dislike, or that in their hearts they would prefer to be governed by their countrymen—indeed, there are very strong grounds for holding that the contrary is the case. But it is idle to ignore the facts that an alien rule lacks some of the securities

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that are enjoyed by a native Government, that its motives are liable to be misunderstood, and that at times when public feeling loses equilibrium it needs special protection against calumnious misrepresentation.

The *Post* points out that the policy adopted by England to raise the standard of her Indian subjects has complicated the problems of government. "The educational policy to which we have deliberately set our hands has accentuated our difficulties by producing in large numbers the voluble demagogue. In schools and colleges the youthful imagination is fed with lessons from European history and politics, and imbibes copious draughts of liberal doctrines which are grotesquely in advance of the real conceptions of the East and are out of all accord with its practical aspirations." The *Post* deems it necessary that "a closer control should be exercised against the spread of sedition in the press, on the platform, and in the class-room," and it urges the Government to "make a more systematic use of the law to check grossly seditious writings in the native newspapers. The law is now treated with open contempt, and the few casual prosecutions that have been instituted have merely had the effect of investing two or three editors with the halo of martyrdom."

The best-informed authorities on India agree that there is no danger of another Indian mutiny unless England should be beaten by a foreign foe, as Russia was beaten by Japan. In that case, as one writer says, "we might as well clear out of India at once." England's position in India is probably reasonably secure so long as the military resources of the Empire are not taxed elsewhere, but let her once engage in a life-and-death struggle, and let that struggle go against her, and then we shall probably see an uprising in India that England will find impossible to put down with her own resources. Which is perhaps what Lord Lansdowne had in mind when he concluded the second treaty of alliance with Japan by which Japan agrees to come to England's assistance in the event of her Indian empire being threatened.

Lord Cromer and the Big Stick

By the resignation of Lord Cromer as British diplomatic agent at Cairo Great Britain loses the services of her greatest proconsul. Lord Cromer retires because of ill health, having spent forty-nine years in the services of his Government, for twenty-five of which he has been virtually the master of Egypt. But he has been not alone its master. He has been its maker. When he first went to Egypt it was one of the worst governed of all the Turkish provinces, the land was oppressed, its people were crushed under a despotic and corrupt government. What he has done reads almost like a miracle. Industrially,

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politically, socially, morally he has made not only a new Egypt but a new people. It was believed at one time that there was no man lower in the social scale than the Egyptian fellah, and he was regarded as so utterly destitute of physical courage that as a soldier he was deemed impossible. Yet so complete has been his regeneration, so thoroughly has Egypt been transformed in the last quarter of a century, that Kitchener with the help of a few subordinates and a handful of English sergeants has made excellent fighting material out of the fellaheen and hammered them so effectively into shape that they, under the command of their British officers, contributed no small share to the final smashing of the Mahdi.

Lord Cromer leaves Egypt morally sound and materially prosperous. Never was life so sacred and property so secure. One would think that the Egyptians, the men to whom have come peace and protection by his beneficent rule, would mourn the departure of Lord Cromer, but, on the contrary, they rejoice, for mild as has been his administration the velvet hand has rested lightly in the glove of iron, and Abbas Pasha, Khedive of Egypt by the grace of England, has more than once felt that velvet hand close on him with a grip of steel. And as in India so in Egypt. The policy that has raised Egypt in the scale of civilization, that has made the peasant a man, that has taught the younger generation to understand the blessings of liberty, has made him dissatisfied with alien rule. He is educated enough to understand a little and not educated enough to understand much. He talks of "freedom," of "Egypt for the Egyptians," without really knowing what the words mean, and as in India so in Egypt there is much unrest which threatens danger. So serious was the situation a short time ago that vigorous measures were adopted and the British army of occupation was reinforced in view of emergencies. Lord Cromer has always indulged in plain speaking with the Khedive and never hesitated to let him know that while he was nominally ruler of Egypt the real government of Egypt was England. Typical of his methods of dealing with the Khedive the story is told that a year or so ago Lord Cromer wanted to institute certain reforms which nominally required the sanction of the Khedive. Abbas Pasha was contumacious and demanded an equivalent. After a reasonable time had elapsed Lord Cromer one morning invited the Khedive to call on him at his palace and rather bluntly told him that his sanction must be given to the reforms.

"And what if I refuse?" his Highness somewhat carelessly asked.

"Will your Highness kindly look out of the window?" Lord Cromer suavely replied.

The two men crossed the room and the Khedive looked out of the

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window. There below the big courtyard was packed with English troops. The Khedive looked and understood. He was ruler of Egypt, vassal of the Sultan, but the courtyard filled with English troops and the man standing by his side whose word would put those troops in motion was the real power that governed Egypt, before which the Khedive as well as the Sultan had to bow in submission.

Prior to his departure from Cairo Lord Cromer delivered a farewell address in which he lectured the Khedive and gave him to understand that his course had not met with the approval of the British Government. After praising the Khedive's father and those Egyptians and Europeans who had assisted him, Lord Cromer pointedly observed:

"His Highness might show his coreligionists that the Mohammedan law courts can be reformed without in any way shaking the pillars of the Moslem faith. He can sternly repress the proceedings of the self-seeking, irresponsible advisers who cluster round an Oriental court, and whose influence is so detrimental to public morality. He can use his influence to encourage true reformers who have the well-being of the country earnestly at heart. If, as I trust will be the case, his Highness will do these things, he will earn the gratitude and respect of every class in this country."

Japanese Diplomacy

The world waits with a good deal of interest the publication of the text of the recently concluded Franco-Japanese convention. According to a statement made by the French Foreign Minister the purpose of the *entente* is to secure additional guarantees for the maintenance of peace in the Far East, being simply a logical continuation of France's policy of concluding arrangements designed to prevent complications wherever France has special interests.

The discussions have shown that France and Japan hold the same views with respect to China. While the agreement will not go so far as the Anglo-Japanese treaty, it will remove any existing uneasiness regarding the security of the French possessions in the Far East. The new Russo-Japanese treaty will, it is also believed, embody similar features, so four nations will soon have practically entered into a similar undertaking not to interfere with each other's interests in the Far East.

Until we know the precise nature of the "guarantees" to which M. Pichon refers it will not be possible to determine whether France and Japan have entered into an alliance similar to that which exists between Great Britain and Japan, or whether it is merely an agreement by which France keeps what she has in the Far East with the consent of

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Japan. More likely it is the latter. Japan has little to fear from France, while France is vulnerable to attack from Japan. An understanding is advantageous to both in more ways than one; it relieves France of anxiety and it opens to Japan the French money market. As Japan must continue to be a heavy borrower for many years to come every additional source of supply enables her to place her loans at a lower rate of interest.

We have come to have as great a respect for the diplomacy of Japan as we have for her military power and to understand that in diplomacy as well as in war she takes no forward step without a clear understanding whither it will lead. Students of international affairs cannot fail to appreciate the significance of these agreements. When the conventions with France and Russia are signed Japan will have reached an understanding with all the great powers with the exception of the United States and Germany. Is the exclusion of those two powers accidental or intentional; in other words, does the policy of Japan make it impossible or inadvisable for her to reach the same agreement with the United States and Germany that she has found it for her advantage to reach with Great Britain, France, and Russia? It is well known that the feeling in high government circles in Japan against Germany is bitter, which is an answer in part to the question, but that does not explain the exclusion of the United States, unless the reason is to be found in certain recent events in the United States. An understanding between Japan and the United States would involve an agreement on the part of Japan to respect American possession of the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands, and it is quite evident Japan is not willing to make such agreement at present. It is as foolish for a writer to be guilty of sensationalism as it is for him to blink the truth. A clash with Japan is possible, of course, but not probable; but relations between the United States and Japan are not on such a footing that she would regard it as wise not to retain the fullest liberty of action. The Philippines might conceivably prove a menace to Japan or a weakness to the United States; the Hawaiian Islands are an arrow pointed at the heart of the United States, to paraphrase the expression used by Japan in regard to Korea. Hence the probable explanation of the disinclination of Japan to round out her treaty-making by a convention with the United States.

So determined is Japan to take her place among the great powers that she has opened negotiations with Turkey for the establishment of diplomatic relations. It is obvious that the desire of Japan to be represented at Constantinople by a diplomatic representative is actuated solely by political considerations. Practically there are no Japanese in Turkey, the number of Turkish subjects in the island kingdom of the

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Far East cannot be greater, and the trade between the two countries is of no importance; certainly not of enough importance to justify the expense involved in establishing a legation in Constantinople at a time when Japan is compelled to exercise the strictest economy. Clearly enough her purpose is political; she aims to have a voice in the concert of Europe and to make her power more directly felt in European politics. The Sublime Porte tolerates but does not welcome ambassadors, and has not shown any willingness to have the *corps diplomatique* increased by the presence of the Mikado's representative, but Japanese adroitness will probably triumph in the end, and when next the powers have to regulate the affairs of Turkey Japan will have a voice in the settlement.

France and the Vatican

When diplomatic relations between the Vatican and France were broken off, owing to the dispute over the separation of church and state, the papal nuncio left Paris and the nunciature as well as its archives were placed in charge of Monsignor Montagnini, who had occupied an official position under the nuncio, but was then without official or diplomatic standing, although recognized as the unofficial representative of the Vatican. The French Government having reason to be suspicious of Monsignor Montagnini, his residence was searched and his private papers seized, which by a vote of the Chamber of Deputies were turned over to a parliamentary commission for examination. Pending a report from the commission the *Figaro* and other Paris papers obtained access to the *dossier* and began the publication of choice extracts from the correspondence. Not only Paris but several other capitals were at first aghast. It was believed that the papers were compromising and might lead to dangerous international complications.

But the papers were dangerous only so long as they were a mystery. They have not been fatal to any one's reputation, with the possible exception of the rather injudicious and garrulous cleric who acted as the unofficial representative of the Vatican. Monsignor Montagnini proves himself to have been very active in French politics and in forwarding the interests of the Church; he records many conversations with some of the ambassadors of the great powers, who although officially accredited to the French republic were in sympathy with the Vatican; in Monsignor Montagnini's belief there were a good many men in French public life who could be reached by bribery; the importance of the United States was not overlooked. And as might be imagined, from the grave affairs of state Monsignor Montagnini turns to the nearer things of life and is concerned about missing cases of champagne and boxes of

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chocolate that have gone astray. The disclosures were annoying to a great many persons but have destroyed no one; they exonerate the Vatican from the charge of conspiring against France, although they reveal Monsignor Montagnini as taking rather an excessive interest in French politics and lending himself to somewhat undignified machinations. The papers show, for instance, that the proposed transfer of Mr. White as ambassador from Rome to Paris was not regarded with favor by the agents of the Vatican, and according to the version printed by some of the newspapers Monsignor Montagnini was scheming for the reception of a papal nuncio at Washington, which perhaps proves better than anything else his ignorance of American political institutions.

Toward the end of May, M. Clémenceau was again forced to prove his strength in the Chamber of Deputies and he emerged from the test triumphant. His firm action in suppressing labor disorders and regulating the Confederation of Labor, which was becoming a menace to orderly society, was seized upon by his opponents as the means by which the Government could be driven out of power. Clémenceau defended himself with his old-time vigor and audacity. He denied that he had any antagonism toward unionism, but he was firmly resolved to maintain order, and he boldly challenged his opponents to vote against him if they dared. After a stormy debate the Government was sustained by a majority of more than 130. For the present at least M. Clémenceau retains his power.

Europe's Tower of Babel

It will be remembered that the result of the last German election was the rout of Socialism, and it is therefore curious to note that the first election held under the extended suffrage granted in Austria witnesses the triumph of the Socialists, who have won at the expense of the Christian Socialists, the Pan-Germans, and the Young Czechs. But conditions in Germany and Austria-Hungary are so unlike that no close analogy can be drawn between the two countries. The Germans are a homogeneous people, and although the Bavarians may not be overfond of the Prussians yet both speak German and at heart all the States of the confederation are German. But in the dual monarchy there is neither a common language, nor a common history, nor a common religion; there is little, in fact, to keep the Empire together except fear—fear that a dissolution of the Empire would mean its absorption by other nations and the warring nationalities would be worse off than better by the change. It was to bring about peace between his subjects that Francis Joseph agreed to universal suffrage. It was absolutely necessary that something should be done, and done quickly. The dominance of the

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Magyars had brought about almost a complete breakdown of the parliamentary system owing to the inconsistencies of the franchise by which they were given a representation out of proportion to their population, and only the aged Emperor's personal influence prevented open rupture.

In all European parliaments, with the exception of England, there are groups rather than parties; instead of there being two great parties as we have in the United States and England there are from half a dozen to a dozen or more groups, each, as a rule, independent, political freebooters in fact, although at times willing to form alliances when anything is to be gained or a ministry can be turned out of office. Austria, like her neighbors, has the group system, but in its worst form, because the groups there are racial. A subject of the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary may be an Austrian or a Hungarian or a Bohemian or a Servian or a Pole or a Croat—the list of nationalities is not exhausted —and while a certain number of Austrians speak Hungarian as well as German, and in that part of Hungary adjacent to the borders of Austria the two languages are freely heard, the majority of Austrians know no Hungarian, and the number of Hungarians who speak German is not larger. As for Bohemian the average Austrian knows as much about it, and cares as little, as the average Englishman knows Gaelic or the average American Sioux. I have travelled for days at a time in Hungary and found German to be as useful as Spanish as a means of communication, and in many parts of Austria Hungarian is as useless as it would be in a Vermont village. Austria-Hungary is the modern tower of Babel.

The German-speaking population of the Empire look forward to the time when they shall be a part of Germany, and it is probable that Germany would not object to incorporate Austria proper into Germany were it not for the fact that the Austrians are Catholics, which is a political consideration, as the Catholics form a group opposed to the Protestant group. In the last election in Austria the Pan-Germanists lost heavily, and so did the Young Czechs, who want Bohemia to be placed on the same footing with Hungary, and thus still further complicate the most complicated of empires. The so-called Christian Socialists, who are anti-Semites, anti-liberal and anti-capital as well as anti-labor and anti-social democracy (could a greater hodge-podge be conceived in any one political party?), have also lost, and the great gains have been made by the Socialists. This perhaps is not as great a menace in Austria-Hungary as it would be in other countries. Class divisions are more marked in the Dual Empire than in any other kingdom or empire, and labor needs its champions to break down these distinctions. That can only be done by the exercise of political power.

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If we are to believe the German newspapers as representing the national sentiment of Germany the German people have acquired the feminine habit of looking under the bed to find an Englishman hiding there, and perhaps are greatly disappointed because the quest is fruitless. No German sleeps these nights except with one eye open watching the North Sea and expecting at any moment to hear the roar of the guns of British battleships bombarding German ports. If King Edward pays a friendly visit to the King of Spain the German newspapers see in it designs against German peace; when the King of England goes to Italy, the German newspapers accept it as a part of the British policy to detach Germany from her friends. Only a few years ago it was the fashion of Continental journals to sneer at British diplomacy. It was unintelligent, lumbering, too pedantically honest to cause apprehension, although it excited amusement. Those were the days when the myth of Russian diplomacy prevailed and the diplomacy of Russia was endowed with almost supernatural qualities. But now all has changed. Russian diplomacy is under a cloud. Germany has no longer her Bismarck, but England has her King Edward, and to Germany he is a combination of Mephisto and Metternich and Talleyrand; the simple honesty of the British Foreign Office has been replaced by cunning and astuteness that is as bewildering as it is unfathomable to German philosophy.

Germany Looks under the Bed

All of which appears to the detached observer as ridiculous in the extreme. The trouble with the press, not alone of Germany but of the whole world, is that it does not take its responsibilities seriously enough. The press may not form public opinion, but it crystallizes it; it is the social reagent that fuses national sentiment and liberates passion. The daily diatribes of the German press, not of yellow journals but of leading newspapers, against England, the opportunity never missed to represent England as the enemy of Germany engaged in plotting against her security, can in the end have only one result. The mass of the German people will come to believe this and will finally get themselves into such a state of mind that they will so embarrass the relations between the two governments that the most trivial disputes may lead to serious consequences. Nor is the fault entirely on one side. Germany is England's keenest commercial competitor, but it ought to be possible in this enlightened age for commercial rivalry to exist without causing national hostility or that intense bitterness which Germans and Englishmen have for each other at the present time.

A. Maurice Low.

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FINANCE

THE RECENT DEPRESSION AND THE CROP SITUATION

BY ALEXANDER D. NOYES

THE disturbed financial situation which has prevailed during the past quarter, and of which the first plain signs were shown last January and March, may be described as a perfectly natural sequel to the events of last autumn. The evil results of the exploiting of capital which then ran riot would of themselves have accounted for much, if not all, of the depression which has existed in recent markets. It has therefore been peculiarly unfortunate that a situation thus brought about should have been complicated, as it has been these past three months, by crop developments which at times became genuinely alarming, and the real outcome of which is even yet uncertain.

Of this crop situation I shall have more to say further on; but first it will be necessary to examine thoroughly the nature of the existing financial position in itself, and in its relations to the great speculation of 1906. I discussed with sufficient fulness, in the last number of this magazine, the sudden outburst of extreme pessimism which found expression in the forecasts of leading financiers and economists at the opening of the year. Of this it may be said at once that the intimation contained in some of those statements, that a genuine industrial breakdown was near at hand, has not been in any respect verified. On the contrary, one of the most surprising phenomena of the past three months has been the stubbornness with which, by all indications, trade activity, genuine consumption, and, therefore, prosperity in the realm of production and transportation, have held their own. What is to come in this direction hereafter is more or less a matter of conjecture; it must be remembered that in 1903 the "rich men's panic" had been in progress for very nearly six months before even the statistics of iron production and consumption began to show any slackening. The June production of iron in this country, during that year, was the highest on record up to that time.

When one turns to the more general aspects of the situation, he will encounter a great variety of publicly expressed judgments. In the first place, American readers have had set before them at frequent intervals

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the statement that the whole trouble of the markets has arisen from President Roosevelt's policy toward the railroads. Mr. Harriman gave out, some weeks ago, the following interesting statement:

> The railroads have had to pay increased interest for money. The money market has been tightened by this hostility to the railroads, because confidence in their management has been shaken and their properties have not been considered as a safe investment. This is especially true with respect to foreign money, which some of the railroad companies are dependent on.

This was supplemented by President Loree, of the Kansas City Southern, in the following still more blunt assertion:

> Agitation against corporate interests seems to be responsible. There is no other cause.

Cause of the Strain on Capital

There were many people, even then, who expressed perplexity as to why the attitude of our administration toward our railroads should affect seriously such markets as London, Paris, and Berlin; for there was little doubt that the depression which has occurred this quarter on our own market has been abundantly reflected in England and in France. When the New York stock market had fallen into one of its periodical spasms of depression in the closing week of May, a London interviewer drew from Lord Rothschild, head of the house of that name, the following statement:

> With President Roosevelt attacking the railways in one part of the world, the income tax question and other problems in France, and the Socialist movement in England, the public are killing the goose that laid the golden eggs.

It will be observed that Lord Rothschild's diagnosis went a little further than Mr. Harriman's, and assigned specific causes for the depression not only in New York but at London and at Paris. Curiously enough, however, the head of the Paris house of Rothschild had a few weeks before addressed the shareholders of the Northern Railway of France on precisely the same subject, his remarks having been drawn out by the query of the shareholders as to why the price of high-grade shares of that railway should have declined so formidably. His answer was as follows:

> All first-class securities have been undergoing considerable depreciation for several years. Such depreciation touches not only French securities, but even first-class foreign securities. It is due to the rise in the price of capital. We can do nothing against it.

The answer that M. Edmond de Rothschild made to his shareholders unquestionably sums up the mature and sober judgment of the banking

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community as to the real cause of the present situation in the markets. President Roosevelt's policy of restricting the arbitrary power of railways over transportation rates may possibly have emphasized misgivings already created by the difficulty of negotiating long-term railway loans and by the unsettled markets. By no means every one endorses as wise all of the methods adopted in this legislation. Even in his so-called "reassurance" speech of May 30th, the President declared his adherence to the plan of "physical valuation" of the railways by the Government as a help towards regulating rates, and this plan has been condemned by unbiassed experts as useless and possibly mischievous, because no two experts could possibly agree on such valuation, and because, also, the valuation would give no real clue to the capital honestly invested. But to ascribe all the fall in prices to this controversy, or even to the "railway regulation debates" in the State legislatures, is supremely absurd. It is difficult to accept such assertion as the honest opinion of competent railway men. If this is the reason for the market's weakness, how comes it that the wild "boom" in Stock Exchange prices, which began with Union Pacific's August dividend, should have started after the Railway Rate Bill had actually passed Congress and been signed by the President? If the railways feared for their profits as a consequence, how comes it that half a dozen of the largest followed that legislation by increasing dividends—and that at the very time when they were warned by critics that, with the money market so unfavorable to borrowings, all of that surplus money ought to be kept in hand? How comes it that Mr. Harriman himself, who alleges that "hostility to railroads" has caused the present trouble in their finances, should have followed the Hepburn Bill's enactment by using $131,000,000 of the Union Pacific's money to buy stocks in the very railways whose position was thus imperilled? These considerations are enough to show the absurdity of the argument.

But if we accept the Paris diagnosis, precisely what does it mean? "Rise in the price of capital" must not be confused in the public mind either with appreciation of gold—it, in fact, usually accompanies depreciation of the precious metal—or with the more frequent phenomenon of rise in the price of money. Interest rates may advance, on the market for demand loans and time loans, in a period when the price of capital is rising; they are on the whole apt to do so. But the two phenomena do not necessarily occur simultaneously. In 1903, when the price of capital, as illustrated in the yearly demand by investors in railway and industrial securities, was rising with great rapidity, the price of money in Wall Street was comparatively cheap. Much the same may be said of the past quarter's markets, when the price of capital was evidently rising

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and yet when call money and time money held at rates very much below the average of the past two years.

"Rise in the price of capital" is, in fact, a somewhat confusing term. In one sense it is equivalent to fall in the price of securities, but this is not necessarily one of its manifestations. What is meant by the term is a general and more or less automatic demand by people with money to invest in stocks, bonds, real estate, mortgages, or other forms of investment, for a higher rate of yield than has previously been offered. Such concessions may be made through payment of 5 or 6 per cent. annual interest, where only 4 or 5 per cent. had been paid before; in that case the price of the securities or mortgages in question would not itself be altered. On the other hand, a higher yield to the investor may be procured through the sale of securities at a lower price than that at which the same securities were previously placed, and it is this which the stock market has reflected through the recent decline in such perfectly unquestionable securities as British consols and New York City bonds, and which it also shows by the very noticeable depression of the past six months in high-grade railway bonds.

When it is asked why the price of capital should at the present time be rising—in other words, why the demands on capital should visibly have outstripped existing supplies—numerous explanations occur. The familiar and more or less general judgment ascribes the phenomenon to the large issues of securities and the great activity of trade. Both of these phenomena are in evidence, and each is very greatly aggravated, as an influence in the strain on capital, by the high prices of commodities. The London *Economist,* which publishes periodically a so-called "index number," compiled from the average prices of forty-seven selected commodities on the London market, gave out at the end of last April the highest number reported since 1877. How close its average went to the highest levels in previous periods of price inflation, and how wide a departure from the average price of only a few years ago it indicated, may be judged from the following table, showing the highest and lowest index numbers at the opening of a year since the middle of the last century:

Low Level.		High Level.	
1852	1,863	1864	3,787
1871	2,590	1873	2,947
1886	2,023	1891	2,240
1898	1,890	1907	2,494

To this it should be added that as against the January 1st index

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number of 2,494, the index of May 1st was 2,549, while that of July, 1897, was no higher than 1,885.

In this movement of prices for materials we have undoubtedly one very important cause for the urgent borrowings of corporations and the aggressive activity in trade. When one looks further into these two questions, some very notable phenomena of the period come into view. Perhaps the most thorough examination of the existing situation is one made by a well-known London economic expert, Mr. Cornelis Rozenraad. Briefly summarized, this is his explanation of the international money situation:

Everywhere the commercial interests of the nations have become more and more predominant, everywhere it has become more and more evident that commerce is the greatest of all interests, everywhere the nations endeavor to turn to account the produce of the soil, employing steam and electricity to develop their industry, to establish relations with unexplored regions of the globe, to secure their share of the world's trade. Everything is in motion—railways, steamers, factories, harbors, docks—and the past year has been one of the most brilliant periods in the history of commerce, as will be seen by the following figures relating to the imports and exports of the principal commercial nations, compared with those of 1905:

IMPORTS.

	1906.		Increase or Decrease.		Per Cent.
Great Britain	£607,987,893	+	£42,967,967	=	7.6
Germany	416,962,550	+	45,149,400	=	12.1
France	209,177,000	+	8,020,680	=	4.2
Austria-Hungary	85,366,666	—	4,545,834	=	5.0
Belgium	123,022,000	+	6,625,040	=	5.7
Italy	96,963,793	+	14,380,845	=	17.4
Russia	63,011,200	+	6,090,700	=	10.7
Spain (eleven months)	31,982,356	+	2,562,567	=	8.7
United States	264,212,800	+	28,341,031	=	12.0

EXPORTS.

Great Britain	£375,672,913	+	£45,856,299	=	13.9
Germany	312,186,750	+	20,005,900	=	6.9
France	201,746,600	+	7,071,920	=	3.6
Austria-Hungary	87,512,500	—	2,825,000	=	3.1
Belgium	97,647,280	+	9,941,000	=	11.3
Italy	73,434,085	+	4,197,518	=	6.1
Russia	106,117,800	+	9,917,800	=	10.3
Spain (eleven months)	36,621,896	—	7,043,273	=	16.1
United States	359,621,400	+	34,223,400	=	10.5
Great Britain reëxports, 1906					£85,163,386
Great Britain reëxports, 1905					77,798,521
Increase					£7,364,865

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Mr. Rozenraad goes on to say exactly what was the bearing of this abnormal increase in commercial transactions on the money market. This is his analysis:

> In proportion as commerce and industry increased, not only did the price of raw materials, wages, etc., begin to rise, but there was also a greater demand for money, larger credits were required, the issue banks had to discount more bills, to issue more notes. When, besides the constant expenditure of money in distant quarters of the globe, added to the remittances that had to be made to the United States, Egypt, the Argentine Republic, etc., for wheat, cotton, and other produce, Europe had also, to a certain extent, to finance America and to remit gold to Rio de Janeiro in connection with the currency reform planned by Brazil, the position of the principal issue banks was continually weakened.

When we turn from these general considerations to the practical working of the principle of high-priced capital in the markets, it will be found that there are two ways in which rise in the price of capital may show itself. The price of outstanding stocks and bonds may be lowered on the market, thus increasing their yield to the buyer at those prices, or new security issues may be compelled to pay a higher rate of interest than before. This has manifestly been in evidence for some time past, even with such unimpeachable securities as New York City bonds, and much more so with borrowings by high-grade railways who are unwilling to pay on long-term bonds the rate exacted by owners of capital and who therefore put out, as they did in 1903, great quantities of short-term notes. This brings us down squarely to the question of new security issues as an influence on the past quarter's financial markets.

The Demands of the Railways

Last November, Mr. James J. Hill publicly estimated that, in order to equip themselves for the enormous traffic pressing upon them, the railways of the United States would be obliged to borrow $1,000,000,000 a year for five years. The markets of the day declared this to be impossible, and opinion was divided between two conclusions—either that Mr. Hill's estimate was extravagant, or else that railways would have to cut down their requirements. There may have been some truth in each of these assumptions; but, as a matter of fact, a compilation made at the end of May, as to announcements of new security issues in the United States made in the six preceding months, showed that Mr. Hill's annual estimate had already been closely approached. The figures were most astonishing. During that period—less than half the period named by Mr. Hill as requiring $1,000,000,000—it was found that the railway and industrial corporations of the United States had announced

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the issue of $912,000,000 in new stock and new bonds and short-term notes. Of this enormous total, new railway securities made up $792,000,000, of which $326,500,000 was in new stock—chiefly announced in December, before the strain on capital became acute—$180,700,000 in bonds, and no less than $285,000,000 in short-term notes. This last item excited the greatest interest on the market; it exceeded by more than $100,000,000 the entire issue of railway notes made at the same period of 1903.

Some of these new security announcements were of a startling character. For instance, the Union Pacific, asking authority from its stockholders in May to borrow $75,000,000 on its 4 per cent. bonds, had to admit that the greater part of the money thus applied for was to be used, not in financing improvements and additions to the railway's tracks, stations and equipment, but in paying off notes issued last winter in payment for stocks of other roads, and in subscribing for new stock which an affiliated railway company was to issue. It is not too much to say that the market was staggered by this announcement; for it must be remembered that in the middle of last year Union Pacific reported in its treasury an actual cash balance of $55,000,000, and that the Interstate Commerce inquiry of last January established the fact that between last July and that date the company had spent $131,000,000 in purchase of securities of other roads.

In other words, the company had not only used up, in payment of such purchases, all its enormous cash balance of last July, adding to that expenditure the proceeds of Northern Pacific and Great Northern stock, but it had borrowed on its notes of hand something like $25,000,000 more for exactly the same sort of operations. How the company had come out of its stock operations was in a way shown by Mr. Harriman in the following highly interesting table. It was issued on the 4th of last May, and gives the results of Union Pacific's stock operations since the beginning of 1901, when it used the proceeds of large mortgage loans to buy control of Southern Pacific stock and to engage in the struggle with the Morgan-Hill interest for control of the Northern Pacific:

	Southern Pacific.	Northern Securities.	Reinvestments.	Totals.
Sales	.....	$117,869,799	.....	$117,869,799
Value stocks unsold May 4	$98,325,000	26,685,108	$113,103,659	238,113,767
Total	$98,325,000	$144,554,907	$113,103,659	$355,983,567
Cost	73,488,111	84,961,375	131,182,027	289,631,514
Gain	$24,836,889	$59,593,532	.....	$66,352,053
Shrinkage	.....	.....	$18,078,368	.....

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It will be seen from this statement that while the Union Pacific was extremely lucky in its operation in Northern Pacific shares, it was very unfortunate in its operations last winter in such stocks as New York Central, Baltimore and Ohio, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, and others. The public naturally paid more attention to the fact that $18,000,000 had been lost, so far as the paper values go, in the operations of last winter than it did to the previous gains. For it must be remembered that all of these stock operations were conducted with money raised through the pledge of Union Pacific's credit and through the placing of a mortgage of its property. This phase of the new security issues deserves special notice, because it showed the unusual nature of some of the demands on capital. Plainly, Mr. Harriman was not wholly without blame for the strain on capital. It was contended properly that if the Union Pacific directors, after selling their Great Northern Pacific stock at a profit last winter, had announced to their shareholders that the proceeds would be used solely for improvements on Union Pacific's own lines, the announcement would have undoubtedly relieved the apprehension of an overstrain on capital, and would have been received with universal applause. That the company, instead of doing this, should have indulged in what could hardly be described otherwise than a Stock Exchange speculation, did not fall kindly in with the public's mood.

Union Pacific's borrowing, however, was only part of the new demands upon the market; it left the general question open, What was the exact connection between such issues of new securities and the decline in Stock Exchange prices which ensued? It is not difficult to discover the connection. In the first place, bankers and investors who subscribed to the new securities necessarily used for the purpose money which would otherwise have remained in the market, invested in older securities. In order to buy the new issues, it was necessary to sell holdings of older stocks and bonds; therefore the necessary sequence was continued liquidation on the Stock Exchange and continued depression in the markets. It should be observed that the foreign markets reported a precisely similar state of affairs as regards new issues of securities, though no such extravagant placing of capital was made in Europe as was in progress in the United States.

While, moreover, these large applications for new capital were made by railway and industrial corporations, there was no releasing of capital from the avenues of trade. Neither in Europe nor in the United States did visible signs appear of a slackening of trade activity. Undoubtedly, this continuance of industrial prosperity was a reassuring fact in the

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situation, so far as concerned the apprehensions which might have been entertained regarding the business future. But obviously, if trade demands were to continue as active as they were a year ago, and if absorption of capital into new securities was to be even more active than before, there could remain only liquidation on the Stock Exchange for the release of such capital as the markets might require. As a matter of fact, this is precisely what happened.

Action of the Stock Market

At the time of the violent stock market decline of March 14th it was rather generally hoped that sufficient capital had been released by the process to restore the situation to equilibrium. It can hardly be said to have done so; indeed, after a month of more or less faltering recovery, a new convulsion of liquidation swept over the market which brought prices at the close of May below even the very low level in March. What these declines amounted to as compared with similar periods of liquidation in a few other years may be seen from the following table:

	1907.	1903.	1901.	1899.
Amalgamated Copper	43⅜	39⅞	57½	....
Atchison	25⅝	31½	23¼	6⅞
Baltimore and Ohio	31⅞	25⅛	20¾	10¼
Canadian Pacific	40½	17	18½	13⅜
Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul	35	42⅛	34⅜	24⅛
Consolidated Gas	30¼	49	15¼	26¾
Erie	24¼	12¾	11½	4¾
Great Northern preferred	66¾	25	15	15
Illinois Central	38	13¼	16¾	12½
New York Central	23¾	32¾	22	21
Pennsylvania	27⅜	33⅛	14⅝	11
Reading	48⅛	20⅞	12	9½
Southern Pacific	26½	29⅝	15⅝	11
Union Pacific	62¾	32¼	43½	8¼
United States Steel	29	13⅞	15⅜	....
United States Steel preferred	16¼	29⅛	14⅜	....

As in 1903, so in 1907, no serious failures accompanied this heavy liquidation, showing that sales of stocks were being made by capitalists entirely able to take a loss on a process and still maintain their position. To speculative Wall Street, on the other hand, the episode was profoundly discouraging, and a feeling of hopelessness began to grow again, which communicated itself more or less to outside investors. Of this it is only necessary just now to say that, in so far as the signs of the times

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indicate, the judicious investor with money of his own occupies to-day much the same position as he did in 1903. With speculative Wall Street flat on its back, and with the largest capitalists not in a position to support the open market, the time for judicious investment by the outside capitalists must have nearly or quite arrived. But naturally, no reflection of this previous situation was to be found at the time on the Stock Exchange.

Varying comments from intelligent sources were called forth by this Stock Exchange movement; two of them are worth repeating here. Ambassador James Bryce said in March, in the course of an address to the New York Chamber of Commerce:

> Oscillations in trade, oscillations in stock securities—they are as inevitable as changes in the temperature and changes in the barometer in our atmosphere. All that we can do is to meet them with serenity. All that we can do is to know—and, happily, you can know that—that they do not necessarily represent any decline in the conditions which make for real prosperity.
>
> They do not, I believe, reveal anything that is unsound in the material condition of the country. So far as I can venture to form an opinion, the industries and the commerce of the whole continent, of the United States, and of Canada also, which is advancing with rapid strides, are in a state of stable and assured prosperity.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, during the same week, expressed this conclusion in a public speech:

> A few gamblers in Wall Street may be in trouble. There will always be some of them in trouble, whichever way the market goes. It is a good day for this country when the stock gamblers come to grief, and I wish I could invent a system whereby both parties to stock gambling would suffer. Wall Street is not America. There are some places outside of Wall Street, even in New York City. The stock gambler is a parasite who feeds on values and creates none. It is time that we should rise and decline to do business with those who make money without giving any value in return for it.

Both these views may have brought comfort to the average investor, but it is needless to say that they brought no solution of its problem to the very large community whose instincts are purely speculative. To people of this class, indeed, another incident of the past three months came with a shock of misgiving. The brokerage house founded by the well-known promoter and operator John W. Gates, and which had perhaps been more conspicuous than any other Wall Street firm, during the three preceding years, in the wildest speculative movements of the Stock Exchange, announced that it would dissolve and go out of business. To what extent this step was taken because of unpleasant accidents in the stock market crash of the past six months seemed to be a matter of some

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doubt; the heads of the house, however, frankly announced their intention of pulling out of Wall Street for the present, their language indicating their belief that, for the present, "the speculative game was up." It is not impossible that this judgment, by a speculator who had cut so sensational a figure in Wall Street's history since 1899, had more effect than all the economic arguments combined.

Absence of Reaction in Trade

When the numerous predictions of trade reaction were current on the financial markets at the opening of the present year, and when such pessimistic forecasts as those of Mr. Stuyvesant Fish, Professor Laughlin, Professor Clark, and Mr. James J. Hill, quoted in the last number of THE FORUM, were given out, there was more or less reservation regarding the probable influence of the crops. This phase of the problem was considered differently by different critics. Those who concurred in Secretary Shaw's prayer that the country be delivered from any greater prosperity, because it already had all that it could stand, rather generally took the ground that our financial interests would be quite as well off with a moderate harvest this year as with another "bumper crop" such as that of 1906. The reason for this view was that the railways at the close of last year had shown themselves manifestly unable to transport promptly the supplies of grain even then seeking the market, while, at the same time, the demand for capital to move so enormous a harvest as that of last year had borne no small part in the strain on last season's money market. This was why even bankers strongly interested in the welfare of the investment markets expressed the hope that the experience of 1906 in that regard would not be exactly repeated.

But, as might have been expected, interior markets took a somewhat different view. Forecasts of the industrial future, coming from that quarter, were almost invariably hopeful; they repudiated the supposition that anything like a violent trade reaction was possible, stated positively the opinion that still greater activity and prosperity were in store for the country's industries, and qualified their own hopeful predictions only by the statement that crop shortage was the single possible obstacle to such a consummation. One Western writer, sketching the state of mind of the Western communities, expressed this view rather strikingly by declaring that in its existing mood the West was not at all disposed to accept as a possibility even such an event as a harvest shortage. And, as a matter of fact, the area planted with wheat in the United States, as reported by the Department of Agriculture in December, was with one exception the largest in the country's history.

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For this optimistic view, the results of 1906 were largely responsible. Production of wheat last year was the second largest in our history, and exceeded by 42,200,000 bushels the very large harvest of 1905. Production of corn broke all records, rising 219,000,000 bushels above the yield, up to that time unprecedented, of 1905. Production of oats was second only to that of 1902; production of barley had never been approached, and outside of the cereal crops the cotton crop of 1906 had been exceeded only by the extraordinary crop of 1904. So large had been last year's harvest, not only in the United States but in the outside world, that the Government's report of supplies in farmers' hands on March 1st showed very much the largest total ever reached. Since the supplies thus available for another crop have had considerable bearing on the question of meeting demands in case of a shortage in the new harvest, the following table giving the March 1st estimate for a series of years is worth reprinting:

	Previous Crop. Bushels.	On Hand March 1st. Bushels.	Consumed or Distributed. Bushels.
1907	735,260,970	206,644,000	528,616,970
1906	692,979,489	158,403,000	534,576,489
1905	552,399,517	111,055,000	441,344,517
1904	637,821,835	132,608,000	505,213,835
1903	670,063,008	164,000,000	506,063,008
1902	748,460,218	173,700,000	574,760,218
1901	522,229,505	128,100,000	294,129,505
1900	547,303,846	158,745,595	388,558,254
1899	675,148,705	198,056,496	477,092,209
1898	530,149,168	121,000,000	409,149,168
1897	427,684,347	88,000,000	339,684,347

The enormous wheat crop of 1906 had naturally had the result of keeping wheat prices throughout the world at a reasonable level. How great that production was may be judged from the report of our Agricultural Department on the world's wheat crop of 1906 compared with other years:

	1906. Bushels.	1905. Bushels.	1904. Bushels.	1903. Bushels.	1902. Bushels.
No. America	871,875,000	811,420,000	637,006,000	733,586,000	779,063,000
So. America	155,337,000	176,745,000	155,185,000	119,113,000	74,625,000
Europe	1,825,608,000	1,802,662,000	1,744,844,000	1,830,590,000	1,796,254,000
Asia	444,786,000	420,602,000	475,468,000	428,522,000	343,920,000
Africa	48,404,000	39,070,000	50,496,000	54,611,000	52,327,000
Australasia	77,694,000	65,626,000	84,628,000	20,461,000	43,927,000
Total	3,423,704,000	3,316,125,000	3,147,627,000	3,186,883,000	3,090,116,000

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The above estimate for 1906 was published last March, and showed that while our own wheat crop very nearly broke its record, the European production came within 5,000,000 bushels of the largest harvest ever produced, while the total output of the wheat-producing world exceeded by 107,500,000 bushels the largest previous yield. This being so, it was no great matter for surprise that the speculative wheat market, during all the period when prices of other commodities and of securities were moving upward with extreme violence, should have halted. As a matter of fact, it was commonly asserted that there had been no speculative movement in wheat between the autumn of 1905 and the close of 1906. In August, 1905, the cash price of wheat in Chicago fell below the dollar mark; it had not thereafter approached that figure, up to the present May. As against a price of $1.15 per bushel reached in August that year, the highest price of August, 1906, was 77⅞ cents. Taking the price of speculative contracts, the so-called "May delivery" at Chicago was quoted at 83⅛ cents at the close of 1906, at 84⅝ at the end of last March, when the trading was influenced by the statement of large supplies on hand, already noticed, and at 77⅝ on April 10th, the day when the Agricultural Department made its first estimate on the condition of this year's crop.

Doubt Over the Early Wheat Crop

That estimate was of considerable interest, both on its own account and because of the circumstances which immediately developed. It gave the condition of winter-sown wheat as 89.9. This compared with 89.1 in April, 1906, when the crop, as we have seen, afterwards rose to an almost unprecedented volume. Indeed, last April's estimate was not only above the estimate of that month a year before, but was higher than the April condition estimate in any but five of the past twenty years. Reckoning on the basis of this condition, and of the planted acreage stated by the Government in December, the wheat trade figured out an indicated crop of early wheat 1,100,000 bushels greater than that of 1906, that would have been exceeded by no previous yield in our history.

As often happens, the publication on the 10th of the month of a crop estimate based on reports gathered at the month's opening was offset to a considerable extent, in public opinion, by news or rumor of what had happened during the nine-day interval. In the case of last April this offsetting influence was of considerable importance. The spring had even before that time been most extraordinary in character; it was destined to show still more remarkable vagaries before the season was much

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further advanced. In March came a spell of unseasonably warm weather, which forced the early wheat crop into somewhat untimely growth. By the opening of April this warm weather suddenly ceased, and was replaced by a prolonged spell of cold with an absence of moisture, which not only stopped short the growth of the crop but gave unusual opportunity for the ravages of insect pests. These unfavorable conditions were beginning to do destructive work at the very time when the favorable April crop report was published. As we have seen, the price of wheat at the time of that report was 7 cents per bushel below the price of March. Within a month, more than all of this loss had been recovered, and when, on the 10th of May, the second monthly estimate of the Government was published, wheat for May delivery was selling in Chicago at 86¼ cents—a rise of nearly 9 cents per bushel in a month.

The May report was of a very different character from that of April. In the first place it marked down the estimate on the crop's condition from 89.9 to 82.9. This of itself was not a particularly formidable change; but what was of much more serious importance was that the estimate of acreage abandoned since the December showing, which is not compiled until the May report, showed the serious havoc that had been done by the bad weather and the insects. In the case of the wheat crop of 1905, there were thus abandoned prior to the May report 1,432,000 acres; in the same period of 1906 the loss was 1,718,000. This year the number of acres thus struck out of the reckoning reached the somewhat portentous sum of 3,523,000. In some States, where the drought and the insects had been most prevalent, the report of abandoned acreage amounted to almost the proportions of a crop failure. Thus the State of Texas was shown to have lost 70 per cent. of its planted acreage, while the condition of what was left was reduced from 91 per cent. to 43. Oklahoma, now a rich wheat-producer, had lost 35 per cent. of its December acreage; Ohio and Indiana had given up 15 per cent. each, and so the story ran. Obviously such a showing called for radical recasting of the April estimates. On the basis of the May condition and the reduced acreage estimate, the calculation of 493,000,000 bushels current in April for the winter-wheat crop was cut down to 405,000,000 bushels, which was 87,000,000 bushels less than the actual yield of the winter-wheat crop in 1906, and which would be materially short of the harvest in any year since 1900 except 1902 and 1904, the latter of which was recognized in the trade as a short-crop year.

For the winter-wheat crop, then, the hopes of the trade were seriously impaired. But it soon became evident that something more than the Southwestern harvest of the United States was at stake. The same un-

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seasonably prolonged cold weather which had prevailed in that section had prevented even the ordinary operations of ploughing and sowing in the Northwest. As the month of May drew near, the reports from the Red River Valley and from Canada became insistent to the effect that the grain was not yet in the ground and that the date was fast approaching when it would be too late to plant for a satisfactory harvest. Wheat sown in that region as late as the close of May is necessarily subjected to the blighting influence of extreme hot weather, such as would naturally be expected soon afterward, and whose influence was bound to be damaging to the young and tender plant, and also to the frosts of autumn, which would be almost certain to affect a wheat crop planted, as this necessarily would be, five or six weeks later than the ordinary date. On the 10th of June, the Government further reduced its winter-wheat estimate to 77.4 and fixed for spring wheat a condition of 88.7, against 93 last year, with a reduction of 1,460,000 acres of growing crop. All told, the wheat crop's indication then was for a harvest at least 100,000,000 bushels short of 1906, and much the smallest since 1900. Meantime the season continued most unfavorable.

To cap the climax, while these discouraging advices from our so-called spring-wheat region were coming in, news was received from Europe that the crops of the greatest wheat-producing states of that continent were being seriously impaired by precisely the same sort of weather as had endangered the American harvest. As late as the close of April, snow was falling in France and severe hail-storms had passed over Germany. The rich Prussian grain fields began to threaten the necessity of reploughing, such as cut out a good part of the crop of 1901; the Russian crop—nowadays, next to our own, the consuming world's mainstay—could not be put under ground for the same reasons as hampered our Northwestern farmers, and in the very fertile Danube Valley it was declared that the season had been the most severe witnessed in thirty or forty years. When it is considered that the European states referred to raised last year very nearly one third of the total wheat crop of the world, the importance of such a showing may be judged. By the end of May, foreign experts were estimating a 10 per cent. reduction in Europe's wheat yield from 1906, some estimates running beyond even this.

The result of this situation in the grain fields of the world was an outbreak of speculation in wheat, which promptly reached a violence rarely exceeded in the history of the trade. In contemplating such an event as the advance of 12 cents per bushel in three days on the Chicago market for future delivery, full allowance must be made for the fact that

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the stimulating news occurred in a distinctly speculative period. The same events, occurring in the grain fields, say, in the middle of 1903, when the speculative spirit was in abeyance, could hardly have had the same effect as they did coming in the early months of 1907. But there has probably been a larger number of people engaged in outright speculation during the past year or two than in any chapter of our country's history since 1873. There has undoubtedly been a greater amount of capital available for such purposes this year than ever before—a fact pretty clearly demonstrated by the extent to which great railway companies with a capital of $50,000,000 to $100,000,000 have had their stocks practically cornered in the Wall Street market by the use of borrowed money, and with no intention on the part of purchasers except to hold the stocks for the expected higher level at which they proposed to sell with a resultant large profit to themselves.

Outbreak of Wheat Speculation

This supply of speculative resources—what may be called the floating resources of the speculative market—does not confine itself to one line of speculation. It is devoted as readily to commodities as to securities; all it asks is that the developments, present or prospective, in that market shall be such as to give good prospects for a speculative profit. It would naturally follow from this that when such inducements vanish in one speculative market, this roving capital will seek opportunities in others. There can be little doubt that the violence of the cotton-market speculation at the opening of 1904 had its cause very largely in the stagnation on the Stock Exchange, which apparently gave no occasion for speculative activity in securities. It will be observed that the situation during the past quarter had much the same characteristic; that is to say, an immense amount of capital long employed on a highly speculative stock market had suddenly been driven out of that market by the collapse of January and March. It might perhaps be imagined that when a speculative venture on so large a scale as that undertaken last winter in Wall Street had ended with such disastrous results to all participants, the public at large would be cured, at least temporarily, of its appetite for speculation. In a normal period this might be the sequel, but experience teaches that the result is different at a time when the blaze of speculation is burning fiercely.

At all events, the Government's May crop report was followed immediately by a speculation for the rise in wheat which may be fairly described as frantic. Despatches from the Chicago Board of Trade itself, while admitting that circumstances combined to raise the price, described the market as a "craze." On one day, wheat for December delivery rose

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at Chicago from 96½ cents per bushel to $1.00½. The cash price of wheat on the New York market at the close of April was 88 cents per bushel; of flour, $4.50 per barrel. When this May movement of speculation reached its climax, wheat on the same market was quoted at $1.04¾ and flour at $5.70. These prices were reached May 17th; but the violence of the advance was too great to last. In point of fact, speculators, eager to make the most of the situation of the moment, had overdone matters with their predictions of damage to the crop. To an extent the worst that could reasonably happen had, to use a Wall Street phrase, been discounted already in prices.

This left the situation such that any news of a favorable character—even if its influence on the crops were to be but temporary—would necessarily cause reaction. Precisely this occurred when, in the ensuing week, the long drought in the Southwest was broken by scattering rains and the cold in the wheat region gave place to weather at least approaching the conditions of a normal springtime. Wheat broke four cents per bushel during that week, and did not recover its former high price even when the "private experts" began to give out pessimistic estimates on the crop which were promptly used by speculative grain houses. One of these, calculating that the spring-wheat yield could not exceed 325,000,000 bushels, as against the 400,000,000 inferred from the Government's May estimate and the 492,000,000 actually harvested last year, fell flat on the market. With the beginning, in the middle of June, of actual summer weather throughout the United States, sentiment changed so rapidly that the Chicago price for July delivery, which had risen from 78⅞ cents a bushel on April 10 to $1.03½ on May 27, was down by June 15 to 88 cents again. At that price a gradual rise began again, and the wheat market henceforward must depend on the later accidents of the season.

Taking now the broader view of this phase of the situation, let us see just what this situation means. By present indications, the United States will probably raise this year the smallest wheat crop since 1904. Presumably, therefore, there will be a substantial loss in profits of the wheat-growing community, and at the same time a decrease in business for the railways whose business it is to carry this grain from farm to seaboard. The influence of an actually deficient wheat crop would, however, run further than the actual return to farmers and to railroads. It will be recalled that the crop of 1904, which would a decade or so ago have been considered extremely large, was, nevertheless, so inadequate for the American consumption of the ensuing twelve months that our export of

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wheat and flour fell in that period to the smallest total since 1869. Where we sent out in the twelve months after the great harvest of 1901 no less than 234,700,000 bushels, our exports during the twelve months following midsummer, 1904, were 44,100,000. Not only was this true, but in the last-named twelve months the remarkable phenomenon of an import of 3,286,000 bushels of wheat, where the largest movement of the kind in thirty years had been less than 2,500,000, was witnessed.

Now let it be considered that in 1906 our foodstuff exports, in one shape or another, made up 29½ per cent. of our total export trade, and that export of wheat and flour alone constituted considerably more than one tenth of the entire $1,772,000,000 exports, and it will be seen that our foreign trade has a substantial interest in this outcome of the crops. It is true that so far as the "international balance" is concerned, the higher price resulting from harvest shortage would in a measure compensate for actual lack of grain to ship. But the teaching of all experience is that such compensation goes only a certain distance, and assumes a sufficiently large surplus for export to make up the difference to the higher price. Yet what we have just reviewed in relation to 1904 shows that unless our wheat supply this year exceeds by a substantial amount the supply of that season, we shall simply have so little wheat to spare at any price that our export trade must inevitably suffer. As a matter of fact, consumption of wheat by the American people itself has increased of late at an extraordinary ratio. In a measure, this results from the quite unprecedented immigration of the period and the consequent increase of our bread-consuming population. It will be recalled by readers of THE FORUM that eminent English grain experts estimated at the time of the short wheat crop of 1904 that even with favorable harvests the United States would not much longer be able to hold its place among the great grain-exporting countries.

Probable Effect of Short Crops

Until results are more clearly visible in the spring-wheat region, it will be impossible to say how far the international money markets would be affected by the shortage here. Obviously, the problem will be affected in a measure by the outcome of European harvests, which, as we have seen, opened the season as badly as did our own. It has been a very extraordinary fact of the past two years that, notwithstanding the practice of our bankers to send abroad at some season of the year from $25,000,000 to $75,000,000 gold—an amount usually regained at other seasons of the same year—the United States had sent to Europe during the twenty-two months since July, 1905, only the wholly negligible

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sum of $176,000 gold. As against this abnormally small export from here to Europe our markets have imported from Europe in the same period no less an amount than $100,000,000. The question of how such abnormal conditions in the market for foreign exchange could have prevailed so long is interesting in itself. Generally speaking, it is safe to say that the great material prosperity of our country enabled it to borrow from Europe and use the capital to advantage; that active speculation in securities caused Wall Street to bid extravagant figures for similar use of still more foreign capital; that Europe itself undoubtedly shipped capital to us for investment on Europe's own account in American securities; that excess of merchandise exports over imports during 1906 reached $477,000,000, which, though less than the $489,000,000 excess of 1903, the $585,000,000 of 1901, and the $648,000,000 of 1900, was, nevertheless, enormously in excess of the past two years; and finally, that liabilities of the foreign insurance companies as a result of the San Francisco fire of April, 1906, caused actual shipment of $50,000,000 to this country as indemnity. On the 27th of last May, gold exports were resumed on a substantial scale.

That a heavy decrease in our agricultural exports would have a possible effect on the movement of gold between ourselves and Europe needs no argument; the broader question remains, however, whether that effect would be serious enough to compromise in any degree the financial situation. In 1901, when the minds both of great financiers and of small speculators were somewhat unsettled by the glamour of American prosperity, it became a saying of the day that we were no longer dependent on the crops. The corn-crop failure of 1901 shook this belief considerably, especially when it was followed by a reaction in the markets. But it afterwards became the fashion to ascribe the decline in prices later in 1901 to a reaction from the Stock Exchange excesses early in the year. When prosperity began returning on a large scale in 1902, the crop failure of 1901 began to be regarded as an incident of no importance. The wheat-crop shortage of 1904, already referred to, and the deficient cotton crop in the late months of 1903, failed to have the effect which one might have expected. In both those cases, high prices to the farmers compensated for a great part of the actual loss in product, and the railroads were so busy bringing merchandise to the prosperous farming communities that their earnings at the end of the ensuing year hardly showed the effect of the deficient crops. All this apparently went to show that we were not as sensitive in a financial way to crop failures as we undoubtedly were half a dozen years ago.

Now, there can be no doubt that a crop failure in a period of high

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prices brings less of misfortune to an agricultural State than a crop failure at a time when prices are low. Furthermore, there is always, especially in a country with such wide resources as our own, the chance that the loss in one crop will be made up by good fortune in another. For instance, the grain-crop failure of 1901 was offset in the same year by the largest wheat crop ever raised, before or since. The wheat-crop shortage of 1904 was more than made good, both in national prosperity and in the country's export trade, by the wholly unprecedented cotton crop and by a corn crop of large proportions. Nevertheless, it will not do to allow ourselves to be blinded by such facts to the real influence of the crops. What the successful harvests meant to our national finances in 1879 and 1897 is sufficiently well known; the new wealth drawn to the United States as a consequence served in each case to start a financial boom of large proportions and long duration. In 1896 a fairly successful wheat crop, coming along with the failure of India's product, stimulated the foreign demand and the export trade to such an extent that prices rose as usual on the eve of November, completely upsetting the argument of the Bryan Presidential campaign, which had been that wheat could not move toward the dollar mark again in the face of the single gold standard.

It is not to be forgotten, also, that when this country was prostrated under the recoil from the Baring panic in London, and when numerous signs were visible of the financial panic which actually swept over America two years later, the production in 1891 of the largest wheat crop ever harvested up to that time, coming along with the Russian crop failure, so far stimulated our export trade that for more than a year it pulled the American markets out of the jaws of financial peril. Or, to look at the matter in another way, there was the experience of 1895, when the Belmont-Morgan syndicate had entered upon its contract to stop gold exports and save the United States Treasury from virtual insolvency: it was recognized by all far-seeing people how much the great game in finance had then at stake in a successful wheat crop. The condition of winter wheat reported by the Government that April was 81.4, a fairly respectable average. By July an unfavorable season had sent the condition down to 65.8. The yield of wheat was deficient; the export trade fell off at the very moment when imports were increasing because of the renewed confidence in finance, and in the end not only was the reviving prosperity arrested, but the protective movement in the gold market broke down absolutely and the Treasury was in three months drained of all it had gained from the bankers' operations.

It by no means follows that the influences of a large gold-export movement this year would be equally serious; on the contrary, there has

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been reason to say that the enormous import of gold from Europe during the past two years—especially when, as was the case last autumn, it had been practically borrowed—laid us open to the probability, in any case, of extensive shipments some time this year. Such return of gold to London was expected by far-seeing financiers at the opening of the present year; and one of the undoubted surprises of 1907 was the fact that instead of rising to the gold-export point, exchange on London fell so low that a few millions of gold were actually imported in March. The explanation of this curious phenomenon lay in our very large sale of railway notes to Europe, payment for which turned exchange with great violence in our favor. But it should never be forgotten that, while the six months' borrowings by our wealthy speculators last winter created a particularly precarious position, the three-year borrowings which have replaced them have only a little more stability. At best we are continuing to do business on borrowed gold, and a partial liquidation of the debt through the return of some of the precious metal can hardly be described as a misfortune. As a matter of fact, the gold-export movement of the present season began on May 27th with the engagement of something less than a million dollars for Paris; between then and the closing week of June, $16,000,000 was shipped, and the persistently high rate of foreign exchange, in the face of these gold exports, indicated the possibility of a still larger movement.

So much for the immediate financial bearing on the crop situation. It will have been observed, however, that the peculiar phenomena of this crop have a wider scope than that of the United States. Even the abnormal price reached for wheat in March was caused not alone by the predicted shortage in the United States, but by reports of a discouraging outlook on the European continent. In this way a most unusual situation was created; it was one which left open three possible results, each one signifying a position of peculiar interest. That the world as a whole will raise a crop equal to that of a year ago is already out of the question. The three other probabilities which remain are: first, a moderately large crop here with an absolute shortage in Europe; second, a shortage here with a good foreign yield; third, a distinct deficiency in both home and foreign crops.

As to what the first would mean, it is only necessary to refer to such years as 1897, 1879, and 1891, already referred to; for, although neither the country as a whole nor its farmers in particular could derive from a moderate crop under such conditions of urgent foreign demand the benefits which would come from a large home crop, still America would

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occupy distinctly the position of advantage and a development of this sort would distinctly help in unravelling a tangled situation. A short crop here with moderate or abundant crops abroad would be at the present time a misfortune of an undoubtedly serious character. It would mean a deficiency in our product, no wealth and no demand from abroad for what was raised sufficient to cause a compensating high price. Seriously deficient crops both at home and abroad would create a position not very often seen in the memory of living men. Even in 1904, when our own wheat crop ran relatively short, the Russian crop increased into almost exactly the amount of our shortage over the previous year. Nearly twenty years ago such a shortage occurred on several occasions. The Liverpool *Corn Trade News* published at the time an estimate that the world's wheat crop of 1889 and 1890 ran respectively 136,000,000 and 32,000,000 bushels short of normal requirements. The result was a period of extravagantly high prices, from which no country in the world got any substantial benefit and which resulted in disordered markets all over the world. In 1881, the year of the famous drought in the United States, the American corn crop was very largely ruined, while the crops of the important Continent producers also fell short. The result in its bearing on finances was distinctly bad. The financial panic of 1882 on the European continent followed in the wake of this harvest and our own markets had to meet the reckoning in 1884. These are not pleasant aspects of the problem; they show, however, how great a stake the country at large has in the production of a sufficient wheat crop, and they make more welcome the indications, since May, that the earlier estimates of crop shortage were almost certainly overdone.

Alexander D. Noyes.

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THE EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK

THE STATUS OF THE TEACHER IN THE UNITED STATES—OBSERVATIONS OF A GERMAN EDUCATIONAL EXPERT

BY OSSIAN H. LANG

In May there was published at Leipsic a remarkable little book on common schools and the preparation of teachers in the United States. The author is Dr. Franz Kuypers, of Cologne, who, as member of a German educational commission, spent seven weeks in this country, visiting schools and gathering material. He is an expert of an unusually comprehensive professional training, quick to discern essentials in school administration, methods of teaching, and conditions under which work is carried on. With this he combines a rare openness of mind and keen sympathy with teachers generally. His interest in the things observed in our country did not cease with his return to Germany, but he continued his investigations by correspondence and extensive reading. His book gives evidence of a wide and profound comprehension of the objects which our schools have set themselves to attain and the means employed to attain them. Show work and the arts by which visitors to our schools are made to see things that are not there have not deceived him, though great reputations artificially acquired or derived from a lucky combination of circumstances may have somewhat influenced the course of his investigations.

A most striking feature of Dr. Kuypers's book is the frankness with which he speaks of our teachers and their social and professional status. He calls attention at the outset to the fact that in the United States the office of teaching invests the holder with no particular authority. Teachers are appointed, usually, for one year and are more or less dependent upon the unstable favor of the majority on the local board, which owes its predominance, as a rule, to its partisan cohesion. The teacher's position is further kept uncertain by the personal relationships to the principal, special supervisors, and the superintendent. The feeling of the parents also must be considered. The office, in short, is a pretty precarious one.

The degree to which we in this country permit all sorts of people to harass the teachers and interfere with the proper performance of their duties is a sad commentary on the prevailing misconceptions of democracy. Dr. Kuypers relates an experience of his in Chicago which illus-

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trates the point. A thirteen-year-old negro boy entered the office of the principal and accused him of prejudice against the colored race, because of some new regulation. The boy occupied a chair in a careless and stubborn fashion, while the principal stood before him and tried to explain very fully the reasons for the regulation. In the afternoon the boy returned with his father, and the time-consuming arbitration talk was resumed. There are schools in which the principal's time and strength are completely absorbed by attention to such matters: his position is reduced to that of a general complaint clerk. Not infrequently principals encourage pupils to bring their complaints of teachers to them. There are superintendents of similar calibre, who are ever ready to hear charges against the principals, from either parents, pupils, or the subordinate teachers. This is done for the "discipline" of the department. No wonder some educational people look so small.

We talk much about the freedom of the teacher. It is a pretty subject to talk about. It permits us to get away from the sordid realities of life and let our disenfranchised souls soar to the empyrean. The teacher must be free. No slaves can train up free men. All these echoes from educational conventions are wonderfully familiar to most of us. And yet Dr. Kuypers does not tell half the story when he says that "the class teachers are, far more than with us [in Germany], kept under the pedagogical direction of the principal."

Even where legal protection is assured to the faithful and efficient teachers, there are still many opportunities for keeping them humble. In New York City a teacher's position appears to be reasonably secure, and yet many instances might be cited to show how personal spite, whether momentary or prolonged, may make the teacher's life one of the hunted. For example, a teacher who is an exceptionally fine disciplinarian objects to further additions of unruly members to her class from the rooms of less skilful disciplinarians. The principal is irritated by the infelicitous choice of words in which her protest is couched. He takes his revenge by giving her a mark that will deprive her of work in the night schools. After applying "influence" she is assured that such a thing will not happen again, but that for the time being nothing can be done to change the recorded criticism from the principal. Another example—a school commissioner harbors a personal grudge against a principal. Heaven and earth are moved to have the offensive person removed. Assistant superintendents and supervisors are instructed to report on conditions in his school, the silent understanding being that there is something wrong, which must be found. The principal is constantly kept on the rack by official watchers on the lookout for a violation of

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the rules or something whereby they may get hold of him. Where is the freedom of the teacher? Where the dignity of the office? Yet those who make the lives of the hunted miserable may speak beautifully upon these idealistic topics.

What about the overlord, the superintendent himself? Chicago can furnish a moving-picture any day that will make the life of an active Russian patriot look tame in comparison. The city never had a more competent, judicious, approachable, upright, and courageous man as superintendent than Mr. Cooley. This is saying considerable, for the city has had some splendid men at the helm. Yet almost from the start a bitter fight has been waged to have Mr. Cooley removed from office. His strength, which should be doubled by the hearty support and cheerful co-operation of the citizens, is sapped by constant assaults and inquisitions for which there is not the slightest rational excuse. To be sure, there is at present some prospect that he may be permitted to turn his attention to the essential duties of his office. Mayor Busse has just ousted Mr. Cooley's most active enemies from the Board of Education, and the men appointed in their places are sensible people desirous of bringing about a condition which will enable the superintendent to devote his main strength to the educational interests of the children. It may take Mr. Cooley some time to get accustomed to the novel sensation of being actually the head of the school system. Of course one can never tell what Chicago will do next. But even a brief respite from the unceasing irritations under the Dunne administration is something to be thankful for.

Superintendent Maxwell's position is in many ways a more satisfactory one. He is less liable to be made the victim of disheartening annoyances and humiliations. This is due not so much to the prevalence of a better public spirit among the people of New York City as to the intricacies of a bureaucratic system which render attacks upon the superintendent less promising of eventual success. Furthermore, there is a tacit agreement among the majority of the school commissioners that Mr. Maxwell must be supported. New York is capable of being quite as nasty as Chicago, as was shown a few short years since, when the majority of the board was still unregenerate. Educators are not bedded on roses.

A suggestion of the methods which school authorities have devised to keep teachers humble may be gathered from the extracts Dr. Kuypers has made from a number of school reports. The duties of principals and special supervisors are minutely described, to make sure that these people are constantly looking after the class teachers. Numerous reports are demanded. Some authorities even prescribe that these must be prepared outside of school hours. How much independence there is left to the

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class teacher under such regulations can readily be imagined. Chicago, St. Louis, and New York are particularly strict in prescriptions concerning the supervision of teachers. In most places a teacher can be transferred or even removed from office at the pleasure of the superintendent. Tardiness in arriving at the school building, whether from avoidable or unavoidable causes, is followed by docking of pay, as in the case of factory hands. Absence due to sickness is punished by loss of pay. Powerful personal backing may secure the teacher immunity from many penalties which the less favored individuals must suffer. The fact that the teacher owes his position entirely to local authority suggests that personal considerations are supreme. The impersonal justice of appeal to State authority is much to be desired.

School superintendents, too, are not permitted to feel secure in their positions. In many places the pay of a superintendent can be withheld for various reasons; for instance, if the annual report has not been made out and transmitted promptly. As regards the making out of reports generally Dr. Kuypers says that there is far more of this in America than in Germany—Germany which is ordinarily believed to be the citadel of bureaucracy. He cites Chicago, but he might have made out an even stronger case with the example of New York City. In Chicago, he writes, the principals must submit, besides the annual report, exhaustive monthly reports concerning the school and the teachers. The class teacher is required to keep a daily progress book, and must also on the last Friday of each month, "before leaving the school building," submit to the principal an accurate monthly report upon the basis of the diary. The diary must be accessible to the principal, so that he may control the daily entry and verify the statements contained in the monthly report. It is further prescribed that all written reports and official communications must be prepared outside of school hours. In addition to this, the teachers of the four higher grades enjoy the privilege of issuing carefully prepared reports to the individual pupils.

It is time that the humiliations to which teachers are subjected by bureaucratic regulations should be brought forward into daylight where reasonable citizens can see them and relegate them to the museums which take care of the Iron Maiden, the wheel, and the thumbscrew.

In summarizing his principal criticisms, Dr. Kuypers says that the "evident defects" in our schools are:

First. Compulsory education is not generally enforced. Where it does exist it is usually too limited in scope.

Second. There is no teachers' profession. It can hardly be expected that

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those who take up teaching as a makeshift will bring to it the devotion which in this calling is essential.

Third. Many country teachers lack even the most rudimentary preparation for their calling; comparatively few have had any normal training. The system of preparing teachers is itself inadequate in very many places.

Fourth. The employment of women in school work is altogether too extensive.

Fifth. Excepting a few cities, the pay and social position of the teacher are not what they should be.

"Compulsory education is not generally enforced." The idea of compulsion does not appeal to the average interpreter of "liberty" in this country. It is "sweet land of go-as-you-please" with him. "Undesirable citizens" reared under the sway of anarchical tendencies have become the spokesmen of untrammelled individualism. A natural result is the enthronement of selfishness. It is this which has encouraged child labor. Nor are selfish parents the chief offenders. From a purely selfish standpoint compulsory school attendance would seem to be a most desirable provision. Every one is agreed that the welfare and prosperity of the country depends upon the widest diffusion of education. The natural resources derive their real value from intelligent development and industrial and commercial exploitation. The individual is profited by the degree of intelligence exercised in sharing in this development and exploitation. Assuming that he does not value education for its own sake, he certainly can find abundant inducements in the promise of material advantages held out to trained intellects and skilled hands. Apparently our failure to enforce the universal education of the young is not due to selfishness. In reality it is due to unenlightened selfishness. Public opinion must grow strong in the faith that rational compulsory education laws, rigidly enforced, are essential to human welfare. Of course, the education offered must be really worth having as equipment for the exigencies of practical life. That is tacitly assumed by the vast sums of public money ungrudgingly expended for the schools.

Compulsory Education

"There is in the United States no teachers' profession." Here is probably the sorest spot in our educational organization. There is too much dilettante teaching, too much dilettante principaling, too much dilettante superintending. Good intentions there are in plenty, but these are of no more practical value to the children than are the good intentions of a physician towards his patients. Of what comfort is it to the weeping parents to know that the physician loved their child, and would have saved him if he could, but that he did not know

No Teacher's Profession

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how! They would sooner have pardoned a lesser amount of sympathy, if there had been a better-trained judgment. In matters concerning education the people are not yet capable of distinguishing between sure-handed expertness and bungling dilettanteism, though they are learning, slowly and by costly experience, that there is such a difference. Many communities have already discovered that the superintendent, at least, should be a trained specialist. However, there are still to be found too many of the "hurrah, boys!" type of superintendent, expert in the art of endearing themselves to school boards, principals and teachers, but expert in nothing else. They address every man most cordially as "Brother" or "Son" and the women as "Sisters" or "My Girls." Their visits to the class-rooms are brightened by funny stories, and the pages of their reports are illumined by expressions of gratitude to everybody in town for having helped make the local schools the glory of the State, and for having brought them to their present high grade of efficiency. But one by one these jolly good fellows are being replaced by those whose chief purpose is to serve the schools, and who know how to conduct them in the light of the best thought and according to the most approved experience. The expert is more and more in demand.

There are certain signs by which the expert superintendent may readily be distinguished from his dilettante colleagues. His vocabulary proves nothing. Psychological and pedagogical verbiage is not infrequently the cloak of charlatanry. The expert takes a serious attitude towards his work and expects his teachers to do likewise, constantly casting about for ideas, suggestions, and plans that will increase the general efficiency of the schools. Efficiency spells economy. The expert does not consider himself the fountain of all educational wisdom nor a czar whose mighty edicts must be obeyed, neither is he a truckling clerk of the board of education. He is an expert by right of his command of certain positive facts—facts, not theories—the result of his investigations of actual conditions, together with experience derived both from his own work and from study of the masters of his specialty. He encourages teachers to bring forward their own experiences and conclusions. His communications to teachers are neither general orders nor prescriptions for pedagogic infants. As the executive representative of the board of education, his chief care is to see that every dollar expended on the schools shall bring the fullest possible returns. His principal anxiety as professional representative of the teachers is to keep alive by every means in his power a genuine enthusiasm for education among his fellow-workers, to inspire and aid them to grow in efficiency, and to promote good will and harmonious co-operation between parents and teachers.

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"Many country teachers lack even the most rudimentary preparation for their calling." This is certainly putting it very mildly indeed.

Trained Teachers

"The system of preparing teachers is inadequate." This might well have been made a point by itself. Some very interesting revelations could be brought to light if an expert should investigate the programmes and methods of the various schools purporting to train teachers and then publish his results to the world. However, there are quite a number of institutions doing excellent work in this field. If only their output could be ten times as large! Trained teachers have no difficulty in finding positions. They are in such demand that even the untried normal-school graduate is readily placed. One result is that the cities and villages which offer particular attractions absorb almost all the available trained material. The country school is quite generally neglected. A solution that might be tried, at least in the East and the States of the Middle West, would be to require every normal graduate to teach for a year in a country school before a professional diploma can be obtained. This would presuppose, of course, that the State has the power to assign teachers to schools which are either without teachers or which are conducted by people without preparation or experience. In other words, the State must develop the right to demand that all teachers shall possess specific qualifications for the work.

Feminization of the Schools

"The employment of women in school work is altogether too extensive." This point may well be taken up in conjunction with the one to the effect that "Excepting a few cities, the pay and social position of the teacher are not what they should be." The latter criticism explains the scarcity of men in the teaching service. The salaries of teachers in the United States are, generally speaking, poor and in striking contrast to the enthusiasm with which education and the noble work of teaching are acclaimed in public. The shabby treatment which teachers receive in rural communities did not escape the attention of Dr. Kuypers. He found, too, that in the South and also in some other sections unskilled farm labor is generally better paid than teaching. He singles out for special and well-deserved censure the niggardliness of "the rich Northern States of Wisconsin and Pennsylvania, both settled largely by frugal Germans," in which the emoluments amount often to "no more than $250 a year."

On the whole, teaching offers few attractions, excepting to altruists and those afflicted with the teaching mania. The inducements held out by

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industrial and commercial life are such that few men turn to teaching, and women abandon school work at the earliest opportunity. Men who have failed in other pursuits or who have lost in the struggle for the attainment of other ambitions find "a modest haven for their lifeboat" in teaching. At any rate there is no doubt that male class teachers are a rare exception and certainly do not represent the pick of intelligence and character which by virtue of their office they should. All the kindergartens and about ninety-five per cent. of the pupils in the elementary schools are taught by women.

Dr. Kuypers declares it to be one of the greatest defects of our schools that the education of boys is conducted almost exclusively by women. He explains, however, that the defect is not as serious as it may impress the German reader at first thought. The teacher is an American woman, freer and more independent in all respects than the German *Fräulein.* No one has yet been able to prove that women lack the power to control boys; on the contrary, lack of disciplinary control is a point not infrequently raised against men who are teaching boys. Moreover, our boys are by nature chivalrous, and appeal to them from this side meets with almost unfailing response.

All this is not reassuring to Dr. Kuypers, who regards with deep concern the predominance of purely feminine educational influences upon American boys, though he concludes that the native love of manly sports, inherited from our Anglo-Saxon forebears, forms an effective counterbalance to feminization. I quote the following thoroughly German expression of view:

> There is no profession of men teachers. Accordingly, the country is deprived of the blessing of teachers' families, in which the new generation is born into the calling, as it were, which makes preparation for the calling so easy, and activity in that calling predetermined. However, the teaching profession shares this lack with other occupations—physicians, lawyers, and clergymen. There is no vocational tradition as yet; each must spy out right and left where to build his home.

Equal Pay for Equal Work

The improvement of the pay and social condition of the teacher is well under way. In some places the subject is energetically kept to the fore by courageous teachers who have become conscious of their grievances. Availing themselves of their observations of how the advantages have been gained by laborers in other spheres, the teachers have effected organizations after the style of labor unions. In Chicago the Teachers' Federation actually affiliated with the local trades unions. In New York City the strongest organization of women teachers, under

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the leadership of Miss Grace C. Strachan, may take a similar step. There are those who are horror-struck at the very idea of an affiliation with labor unions. And yet such a procedure would be quite in accordance with the tendencies of the times. Besides, women have learned by experience that the political influence necessary to win practical consideration is acquired only by a show of votes, which in turn suggests an alliance with organized male sympathizers. Teaching does not yet take rank with the professions of law and medicine. Some would have it that it is an art to which people are born as painters and poets are. Admitting this claim, the question may be raised, Why is not the public indignant at the unionizing of orchestras and operatic choruses? Of course, the great virtuosos and prima donnas receive due consideration without bending their individuality under the union yoke, but the rank and file have discovered material advantage to result from aggressive combination. The flesh-pots of Egypt look more promising of nourishment to them than the tramp over the hot sands in the desert with only the hope of a brighter beyond for sustenance. Teachers are as human as the allied chorus singers.

In New York City the move toward unionization began with the demand of the women for "equal pay for equal work." It was found that women officially charged with the same duties as men were receiving less pay. Our mothers and grandmothers would have seen nothing strange in this condition. The women teachers of New York City did. Experience having taught them that a humble appeal to their local superiors in office would yield them no substantial encouragement and might bring censure upon their heads, they turned to the State for redress. By a magnificently conducted campaign the State legislature was persuaded to grant their demands. Now began a most extraordinary public debate to defeat the legislative victory of the women by the vetoes of Mayor McClellan and Governor Hughes. The veto of the Mayor was obtained, but was overridden by the legislature, but that of the Governor was left uncontested. The significant feature of the explanations given by the two executives for their action is that both evade the issue of "equal pay for equal work." Mayor McClellan rejected the salary bill because he regarded it as unnecessary and obnoxious class legislation and a violation of the principle of home rule. Governor Hughes took the broad ground that the bill involved a large economic principle which must be settled for the State at large before the State could insist upon its adoption in any particular locality.

There is no doubt about the fundamentality of the proposition of "equal pay for equal work." The difficulties are in the application of it.

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What is meant by "equal work" is a large question. It is quite possible that no two persons can be found who do equal work in education. Is the personality to be deducted? If so, do we not omit the most valuable educational influences which may proceed from a teacher? If we admit that the personality is an educative asset, we are compelled to deal in our calculations of results with a variant of considerable proportion. The opponents of the women who persuaded the legislature at Albany to vote for "equal pay" stood before two horns of a dilemma. Either they must prove that the work of the men is superior to that of the women, or else they must establish that the teachers are not paid for the work they do, but according to their social or individual needs. The question of supply and demand could not enter into the discussion under the circumstances. The principal issue would rather be, Are men really needed as teachers? That in turn would depend upon the answer to the question, What results are to be achieved? Theoretic assertions cannot convince the taxpayers that men are needed. They must have exhibited to them incontrovertible realities.

What results are expected? How is the attainment of the results to be determined? A few years ago Dr. Rice gave us a method for testing certain simple results which every elementary school must produce, whatever else it may do or try to do. The plain sensibleness of the proposition appeared to have confounded the teachers accustomed to the hallowed obscurity of psychological parlance. Here was something that even the plain citizen could understand. That seemed to suffice to bring upon it the condemnation of those distinguished speakers and others who build for the teachers comfortable bowers of ease beside the still waters of tradition. Nevertheless, the discovery must be regarded as one of high importance for education, more especially for school administration. We now have at least a plan, practically tested and fully presented, for going about the study of results in school work. A community desiring to inquire after such simple results as Dr. Rice himself investigated need only apply the same method. Bare intellectual results are easily judged. Following the lines of least resistance, many superintendents and principals confine their examinations to this one line. The women teachers of New York City, therefore, may well conclude, upon the basis on which their own work is judged, that they are entitled to as much pay as the men in charge of like work. "The superintendents and principals," they say, "fill out the same blanks and judge from identical standards in rating the work of either men or women teachers." Therefore if no other results are required, no discrimination should exist in the pay. The point is plain. If the men really do supply something more than is exacted of

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the women, then it would seem to be but just that this something should be brought out in the rating of results. It is possible, for instance, that certain women supply more efficient training in what is commonly called manliness than certain men. If the community pays a man for manliness, he ought to possess it, or give evidence of the ability to develop it in his pupils. As long as this is not done the weight of the argument would seem to be on the side of the women teachers.

There is no doubt that the boys—and the girls too for that matter—ought at some time in the educational course to come under the influence of a virile personality. The people have not yet realized the importance of this proposition. A careful analysis of our social life reveals certain positive dangers which may be traced to over-feminization in education. Stern solidity looking toward the attainment of great ideals is giving way to efforts to please, to favor and be favored. Our whole political life has shifted to this wrong basis. However, this subject is not under discussion here. The point is that the schools cannot do entirely without men teachers. If men of the right sort are to be employed the pay must naturally be such as to attract and hold them. There will be money enough to supply adequate salaries, once the people realize the positiveness of the need. The present haphazard procedure does not meet the issue, and is not half as logical as the argument of the women who are demanding "equal pay for equal work."

Can manliness be determined by tests? The plain citizen can readily discern manliness in a man, however transcendental the problem may appear to an educator accustomed always to look for the psychological handle by which to take hold of it. There are manly teachers and there are men teachers who are not manly. To be sure the written examination and other procedures so dear to the scholast will not establish the presence of manliness. The successful private-school manager knows how to find it. His institution does not thrive on theory. His procedure is worth looking into. He must have good teachers and he manages to get them and to keep them. The latter is a point of considerable consequence. The public school has had in its service many of the best men the country has produced, but it could not hold them. Even men who would rather teach than do anything else gave up the struggle. They were willing to forego material gain but they could not give up their manhood, for they realized that this loss would deprive them of a quality essential to real success in education.

However, the things that are are not the things that will be. We are progressing every day. Dr. Kuypers, too, appreciates that we are at present in a transitional period in school matters. Our country is young.

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Many of the present defects are merely the natural results of the measles and whooping-cough stage. Our ills are not yet deep-seated nor are they chronic. Untrammelled by tradition and innocent of any thorough acquaintance with history, we experiment boldly, attacking fundamental questions like "equal pay for equal work" not in their theoretically natural order—as in this case, for instance, after settling the question of woman suffrage—but as they come up, projected into public view by the agitations of enthusiasts. The critical Old World is perfectly willing to benefit by our successes and our failures. Relatively, our growth is very rapid. Dr. Kuypers notes some striking evidences of the progress in public education. He points out that while at present only one in a hundred proceeds beyond the elementary school, the ratio was one in five hundred twenty-five years ago. Or, while only 8 per cent. of the teachers in the South hold certificates of normal preparation, there is comfort in the observation that the number of normal-school students increased 50 per cent. between 1880 and 1890, and 94 per cent. in the twelve succeeding years. Before many more winters have passed efficient and faithful educators may be permitted to give their main strength to the schools. Perhaps they may be allowed even to die a peaceful death in the harness, or, better yet, feel at the close of a long and useful term of labor in the schools that they have really earned the gratitude of the people for whose benefit they have spent the best portion of their lives.

Ossian H. Lang.

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APPLIED SCIENCE

PROBLEMS OF TRANSPORTATION

BY HENRY HARRISON SUPLEE

ONE of the controlling elements in the value of a thing is that of its location. Very often the whole difference between the potential and the active value of an article lies in its position. Practically all of the resources of Nature require, either that the materials be taken from their original location to some place where men and markets are awaiting them, or that men be brought to the place where the latent values are awaiting the presence and effort of man for their utilization. It follows that a large part of the work of the engineer in the application of science to the service of man must be devoted to the removal, transport, and delivery of materials from places where they cannot be used to the points where their mere presence creates value. Economists have much to say about the law of supply and demand, but often ignore the fact that the control which man is acquiring over the forces of Nature is enabling him to modify the sources and means of supply to such a degree as to render the law far more complicated than formerly appeared.

Probably there is no more powerful influence at work to-day in the civilized world than the question of transportation. Within the limits of great cities the whole system of commerce, politics, and daily life is dependent upon the provision, maintenance, and control of local transport. Beyond and between the cities the same problem demands solution as the essential element of prosperity. Between states and foreign nations the means of communication and for the conveyance of merchandise and of men constitute the chief factors upon which interstate and international existence depends.

The opening of communication and commerce across the Atlantic and through the Pacific, following upon the voyages of Columbus and of Magellan, practically turned Europe inside out, placing Venice and Genoa in the rear and putting the British Islands, hitherto in the background, in the very front of activity.

When the transcontinental railways penetrated to the Pacific, the essential elements of local provincialism in the United States began almost imperceptibly to lose their hold, until now we are beginning to realize that the application of engineering science has made of "these United States" what has aptly been termed an "interstate country."

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Meanwhile the engineer was opening another route for transport, and with the cutting of the Isthmus of Suez the eastward flow of commerce in Europe was partially restored, while even now the cutting of the other isthmus at Panama has become a matter of national and even international importance.

During the whole period in which modern engineering has been developed this silent but controlling influence upon commerce, politics, government, and warfare has been extending, and to-day nearly every economic, diplomatic, and financial question relates to some problem in which applied science is the controlling force. Because Russian engineers were able to build a railway across Siberia there came war in Manchuria and peace negotiations at Portsmouth. Because steam railways cross the American continent and electric power fills the Empire State we see rate regulation and the control of utilities becoming the overshadowing questions in national and State politics. Because the high-speed elevator is eliminating the question of vertical transport in business and residence buildings we see cities transformed, land values multiplied, and commercial activities redoubled. There is little doubt, then, that modern civilization depends for its very existence, commercial, political, military, social, upon the increasingly successful application of science by the engineer to the work of bringing together from all parts of the world the materials of service, the forces of Nature, and the men who alone can use them.

Taking, then, a broad survey of the field of applied science as it exists to-day, we see certain underlying questions demanding attention, these being partly covered, and often greatly obscured, by minor details, sometimes of pressing importance even though capable of ready solution.

Thus, increased capacity in the transport of merchandise must be provided, both by land and at sea. Increased speed, even yet sought for certain purposes, is beginning to be accepted at its real and limited value, and replaced to a great extent by greater train-loads on the railway and by the larger cargo-carrier at sea. Further, it is beginning to be realized that periodic congestion is one of the greatest obstacles to capacity, and that continuous flow, or some close approximation to it, is essential for maximum capacity. These things are by no means realized as yet, but at least their truth is not denied. For the present the railways are attempting something in this line by frequent trains at close intervals; in ocean transport the promise once held out of daily sailings for merchandise, passengers, and mails, has not been fulfilled, although the mere perception of the possibility showed that the principle was understood. In local transport the idea of continuity has until now been almost ignored, notwithstanding the fact that the engineer has made some im-

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portant practical steps in that direction. The necessity for some recognition of the principle appears in the fact that in the New York Subway, for example, the headway between trains is limited by the time required to unload and take on passengers at the express stations, and is not, as matters are now arranged, a function of the speed at all. An approach to continuity is announced in the arrangement of the New York terminal of the Hudson Companies' tunnel, the passengers being taken on from one side of the train while others are discharged on the opposite side, a method which will reduce the time of stop to a minimum. The true solution of such local service, however, is found in the continuously travelling platform, possibly supplemented by high-speed express trains for long-distance through traffic.

The Internal Waterway

The increasing congestion of railway traffic in the United States is causing attention to be turned again to the value of internal waterways, and herein lies another fundamental principle in the problem of transport. Waterways are not necessarily competitors of railways; there is ample room for both; but the railway cannot be expected to carry certain kinds of merchandise as economically as the slower waterway, be it canal or river. One of the most important engineering questions in the United States to-day is that which has recently been submitted to the Inland Waterways Commission, involving as it does the preparation of a complete plan for the utilization of the navigable rivers of the country. Pascal's definition of a stream as a road which travels shows that the principle of continuity in water transport was long ago appreciated, and thus we may yet see an extensive return to the canal and the canalized river as an important department of transport.

In all lines of such work, however, it must be remembered that the actual cost of the service is not a safe guide as to its efficiency or desirability. When plans for electric traction for main-line railway service are discussed it is usual for railroad men to show the enormous cost of making the change, and the probable greater cost of maintaining the new system. Similar arguments might be brought, and indeed have been brought, against almost every such change. The railway itself represents a vastly increased cost over its predecessor, the stage-coach line, just as the electric tramway is more costly than the horse-car line. The watch, as has often been pointed out, is far more highly organized, costly, and delicate than the sun-dial; but any argument based thereon has long since ceased to have weight. The real question to be answered in the transportation problem is the accomplishment of results. The products of

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Nature, the output of the mine, the quarry, the furnace, the farm, must be carried where they are wanted with a minimum of delay and a directness demanded by the customer. These points being satisfied, the question of cost must be met by the engineer.

The Development of the Pipe Line

Two methods of transport, one extensively used for certain products, the other only beginning to be considered, meet the requirement of continuity to a high degree, and both represent some of the best work of the engineer. I refer to the existing pipe lines for oil and the proposed pipe lines for gas. The value of continuity of flow in the case of the pipe line for oil is well shown by the fact that the pipe has supplanted railroad transport of oil wherever it has been introduced. So far as gas is concerned, the experience in pumping natural gas in West Virginia has demonstrated the feasibility of the system. It has been suggested that the scientific method of using the fuel deposits of the Lehigh and Schuylkill valleys in Pennsylvania is to produce fuel gas at the mines and deliver the gas in New York and in Philadelphia by pipe. The pumping might well be done by gas engines in relay, the pipe itself being tapped for the fuel supply for the relay stations.

In this connection it may be noted that gas-power distribution in the machine shop has been found both successful and economical. By arranging small gas engines to drive various groups of shafting for the machines in different departments, the gas being distributed in mains from a central generator, the distribution losses are reduced to a minimum, while the fact that a small gas engine is practically as efficient as a large one enables the high economy of the internal-combustion motor to be realized for each group.

The Problem of Rail Breakage

Coming now to some of the detailed problems in transport which are attracting special attention at the present time, we may note the matter of rail breakages, concerning which much has been said and published during the past few months. That the number of breakages has been excessive there is no doubt, and the principal controversy is in the determination of the cause. There is no question as to the fact that wheel-loads on locomotives and trains have been greatly increased during the past few years. In the case of locomotives the loads on the driving wheels have nearly quadrupled, while the total weight of the passenger car of to-day is from three to four times that of a few years ago. Freight cars have increased in capacity from 30,000 pounds to

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100,000 pounds, while an increase in the frequency and weight of trains has added correspondingly to the severity of the work on the rails. This, however, seems insufficient to account for the breakages, and it is maintained that with the increase in the weight per yard of modern rails there has not been as high a standard of quality maintained.

There is no doubt that it is more difficult to roll a heavy rail to the same advantage as one of lighter section. The greater mass of metal in the head of the rail causes this portion to retain its heat longer than the thinner parts in the web and flange. It is well known that the best texture of rail steel is secured by care in the heat treatment, especially the temperature during rolling, and if the rail is still at a high heat after the rolling is completed the metal is apt to assume a coarse and granular condition which does not exist when the metal is worked while cooling. Experimental investigations, including the use of the drop test, as well as the microscopic examination of polished and etched sections, show that metal of the same chemical composition may and does vary greatly in strength and wearing qualities according to the heat treatment it has received. The present outcry against the use of Bessemer steel and in favor of steel made in the open-hearth furnace does not seem warranted by the facts, and at the present time the remedy appears to lie in a rigid inspection of the product, both at the mills during the operation of rolling, and by severe testing of representative specimens before laying the track.

The latest suggestion in connection with the improvement of the Bessemer process is to use a blast from which all moisture has been removed by passing the air over refrigerating coils. The success which has attended this application of the dry-air blast in the blast furnace will, it is hoped, be extended to the operation of the Bessemer converter. If the use of the dry-air blast prevents the formation of blowholes and defects in the steel ingot, it should enable sounder rails to be rolled.

The Supply of Iron Ore

Last year I referred in these reviews to the anxiety expressed in some quarters as to the possible limitations of the supply of iron ore, both for Europe and for America. The inquiry was met by a prompt response, and it has been fully demonstrated that the supply is ample for many generations, if the hitherto unworked deposits are developed. Thus again the question of transport enters to solve the problem, and what in one part of the world is merely so much earth, of no appreciable value, becomes, when transported to the centres of industry, the raw material important above all others, the food supply alone excepted. The

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agitation in this matter has certainly been productive of good, since it has called attention to the fact that, entirely apart from the actively worked mines, there are immense deposits of iron ore untouched and as yet unreached in northern and central Africa, in Australia, New Zealand, China, and India. All that is needed to bring these "potentialities of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice" into actual value is the element of transport, and the means of transport will be forthcoming.

The Future of The Motor-Bus

An interesting development of municipal transport in London is seen in the rapid increase in the use of the self-propelled omnibus, the so-called "motor-bus." During the past few years hundreds of these machines have been put into service, and while defects in construction and operation have naturally been revealed, the results, on the whole, have been encouraging. As Colonel Crompton pointed out some time ago, the omnibus is superior to the tramway in the important feature that it possesses an "overtaking power," the stoppage of one vehicle not necessarily interrupting travel on the entire line. This feature aids in the maintenance of continuous traffic, so essential in the relief of congestion, and permits a flexibility of operation extremely desirable.

The defects of the present motor-bus appear to lie mainly in skidding, in bad weather and on dirty streets; in the production of noise and bad odors; and in breakdowns. Skidding may be remedied by the proper care of the streets, a matter which was demanded before the motor-bus ever came into service. Modern pavements are not slippery in themselves, or even when wet if they are clean; but when covered with a coating of greasy mud, both automobiles and "hippomobiles" have trouble. A free flushing with the hose will remove the slipperiness, and skidding need not be feared on clean wet asphalt. Improved design and construction of motors will aid materially in reducing the noise, while the number of breakdowns demands not only better construction, but more rigid inspection. When it is considered that the motor-omnibuses in London are operated continuously for sixteen to seventeen hours out of the twenty-four, leaving only night hours for cleaning, inspection, and repair, it is remarkable that they stand up as well as they do. Very few of the private automobiles could be depended on for such results. There is little doubt that the severe tests of such daily service will try out the existing models and enable steady improvement to be made. Some satisfactory substitute for the differential gearing is to be desired, while automatic lubrication, or possibly the employment of some form of graphite in the cylinders, will prevent the offensive smoky exhaust, and

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there is every reason to believe that the motor-bus will become a valuable auxiliary to the underground tube or the subway in meeting the problem of municipal transport.

Electric Traction for Main-Line Service

Some of the important details in the successful application of electric traction to main-line railway service are being worked out in the practical operation of trains in tunnels. Thus, in the handling of the electrical equipment of the Simplon Tunnel the three-phase alternating current is being used with success for trains of weights up to 300 metric tons, on heavy grades, at speeds of 40 to 45 miles an hour. The locomotives themselves weigh 62 tons, of which 42 tons are on the driving wheels, and develop draw-bar pulls of 16,000 to 20,000 pounds in starting heavy trains. The difficulties experienced at first with the moist atmosphere of the tunnel have been wholly remedied with improved insulation, and regular service is now maintained. An interesting fact observed in the operation of the tunnel appears in the increased resistance of a train in the tunnel over that in the open air. Measurements have demonstrated that at speeds of about 43 miles an hour it requires 400 horse-power more to haul a train while in the tunnel than in the open. This excess resistance diminishes at slower speeds, and at 33 miles an hour it amounts to about 15 pounds per ton.

The Proposed Splügen Tunnel

The Simplon Tunnel is hardly completed and the railway in operation when the next great Alpine-tunnel project appears to be assuming definite shape. The much-discussed Splügen Tunnel is included in the concession recently granted for the construction of a railway from Chur, in Switzerland, to Chiavenna, in Italy. This route will give convenient communication between the Engadine, Tyrol, and Vienna and the cities of northern Italy, and the plans include a number of steep grades and the boring of a tunnel 16¼ miles long, the entire line having a length of 55 miles. The project offers many difficulties, but with the experience gained on the St. Gothard and on the Simplon routes there appears to be no reason why the undertaking may not be carried through successfully. The principal question involved is the cost, this being estimated at about $25,000,000, or $10,000,000 more than the Simplon Tunnel, the estimates including roadbed, tunnel, and railway equipment. Electric traction is to be used, ample hydraulic power being available both at the Swiss and the Italian ends of the tunnel.

One of the recent developments in railway passenger service is the

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arrival of the all-metal car. The first active incentive toward the use of non-combustible cars was probably the result of the disastrous fire in the Paris *Métropolitain,* the effect appearing in the steel cars built for use in the New York Subway. It is now announced that one of the great trunk lines has decided to use steel passenger cars for both local and through service, not only as a precaution against fire, but also because of the greater resistance in cases of collision and accident. These cars are to be lighted and heated by electricity, thus removing the principal cause of the fire which so frequently follows a railroad wreck.

The Application of the Gyroscope to Transportation

Several months ago I referred to the plan of the German marine engineer, Herr Otto Schlick, to utilize the gyroscopic action of a revolving flywheel to check the oscillations of a vessel at sea. Since that time the plan has been given practical trials, the apparatus having been installed upon a torpedo-boat, the *See-bar,* of the German navy. This vessel, of 116 feet in length, 11.7 feet in breadth, and with a displacement of 52.2 tons, was fitted with a flywheel of a diameter of 1 metre, arranged to be rotated at 1,600 revolutions per minute. This wheel had its axis placed in a vertical position, the casing, or frame, to which it was fitted being mounted on horizontal trunnions athwartship. The casing was fitted with hand and hydraulic brakes, and the whole apparatus designed to enable the action to be tested. The performance of the device demonstrated its effectiveness. At a time when the rolling of the boat reached 15 degrees each side of the vertical, with the gyroscope out of action, the starting of the gyroscope reduced the roll to 1 degree out to out. Similar results were obtained on successive trials, and there appears to be little doubt that, for small boats at least, the gyroscope may be found very effective in reducing the rolling to a minimum. The great size and steadiness of the large Atlantic liners renders such a device unnecessary, but for small vessels of war the gyroscope may be found very useful in securing a steady gun platform.

Another plan for the practical application of the gyroscope is seen in the Brennan mono-rail car, a working model of which attracted most interested attention at a recent soirée of the Royal Society in London. The model there shown was a car about six feet in length, supported on a pair of wheels at each end, the wheels all being placed tandem, so to speak, and thus in line of the single rail. Within the car there were two small flywheels about five inches in diameter, revolving in opposite directions at a speed of about 7,000 revolutions per minute. When these flywheels are in motion the car stands as steadily upright as if it had the

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wheel base of an ordinary car, but when the flywheels are stopped it falls over, just as might be expected. With these gyroscope wheels in action the car may be propelled either upon a single rail laid on the ground or upon a cable, and the demonstrations showed that the apparatus acted perfectly in passing around sharp curves.

The use of the gyroscope in connection with the control of submarine torpedoes is well known, and this latest application of the principle bids fair to lead to developments of still greater value.

Transmission of Energy

Transportation, in its limited sense, may be taken to mean the carrying of ponderable substances from one place to another, but in recent years it has become closely associated with transmission. In the early history of the electrical transmission of energy the statement was made that the most economical method for the long-distance transmission of energy was to be found in the hauling of coal between the two points by railway. This is doubtless still true in some instances, but there are many cases in which energy can be derived from natural sources not capable of bodily transportation, and the conversion of hydraulic power, for example, into electrical energy and its transmission to distant points continues. A recent list of hydro-electric power-generation and long-distance transmission plants, covering the work in the United States and Canada during the past decade, includes sixty installations, ranging from 1,000 to 50,000 horse-power, transmitted over distances from 2 miles to more than 200 miles. Some of the largest amounts of power also include the longest distances, Montreal receiving 46,000 horse-power from Shawinigan Falls, 85 miles distant, while the longest transmission in California delivers 15,000 horse-power over 220 miles. During the ten years from 1890 to 1900 the increase in hydraulic-power development was shown by the census to be nearly half a million horse-power, while it is estimated that by 1910 there will be, in the United States alone, an aggregate of two and a half million horse-power in service, nearly all of it electrically transmitted.

The latest achievement in the long-distance transmission of electrical energy is the Kern River plant in California. This installation is the first of the stations intended to derive 60,000 horse-power from the Kern River, and is of 25,000 horse-power. The impulse wheels of this plant are driven by water acting under a head of 877 feet, corresponding to a pressure of 380 pounds per square inch, and the electric current is transmitted to Los Angeles, a distance of 117 miles from the power-house, under an electrical pressure of 85,000 volts. While this distance has been

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exceeded in the case of a few other electrical transmissions, there is no other in which so high a voltage is used.

The development of the hydraulic power of the streams in the Sierra Nevada and its transmission to the agricultural regions and to the coast is making up in large measure for the insufficiency in the fuel supply of the Pacific Coast. With the exception of the natural-gas belt in the Middle West, it is said there is now no section of the United States in which the cost of power is so low as in the portion of California supplied from the electric stations of the Sierras, and the use of this power for irrigation is redeeming thousands of acres of land.

The Gas Engine for Marine Service

I have referred already in these pages to the possibilities of the gas engine for marine service, and this subject appears to be attracting renewed attention. In England especially the question is being discussed in naval circles, and the advantages of gas over steam power are being seriously considered.

Naturally, the first consideration in favor of the internal-combustion motor is its high thermal efficiency. A horse-power can be developed with one half the amount of fuel required by a steam engine. Again, there is no large reservoir of fluid under high pressure in the case of the combustion motor, the pressure being produced directly in the cylinders of the engine at the moment of its utilization. With the gas engine one of the difficulties in handling the machinery in rough weather is absent, since there are no boilers with large volumes of water to give trouble by priming or carrying of water over into the pipes and the engines. Gas producers need charging only at intervals of several hours, and the severe duty of firing in a heavy seaway is rendered unnecessary.

In view of these advantages the present obstacles to the practical use of the gas producer and engine must be considered, these being of two kinds. In the first place the gas producer, as at present designed, gives entirely satisfactory results only with certain fuels, such as anthracite coal, or coke. An altogether satisfactory gas producer for use with bituminous coal has not yet been perfected, but there is every reason to believe that it is capable of being developed with the increasing experience which is being had in this department of practice.

The other feature in the gas engine which is open to improvement for its adaptation to marine service is the prompt and complete control of speed and power of reversal. Several methods have been proposed, these including the use of a reversible propeller, the direction of motion of the engine remaining unchanged; also the Del Proposto system, al-

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ready mentioned in these reviews in connection with the introduction of the Diesel motor upon vessels on the Swiss lakes. This latter method involves the use of electrical transmission between the engine and the propeller, and, with certain modifications, it presents a fertile field for development and extension. With such manifest advantages, and with the obstacles so evidently capable of removal, the application of gas power to marine service appears to be approaching commercial success.

The Balloon in Arctic Exploration

Last year I mentioned in these pages the proposed expedition of Mr. Walter Wellman from Spitzbergen in a dirigible balloon in an effort to reach the North Pole. The attempt was given up, or rather postponed, and now it is announced that the plans are completed for an attempt this summer. Whatever may be thought of the object of the proposed expedition, there are many matters of interest connected with its equipment. The balloon, which has been rebuilt in Paris, is 55.8 metres in length, with a middle diameter of 16 metres, giving a volume of 7,500 cubic metres, and an ascensional force, with hydrogen, of 8,870 kilogrammes. With a principal motor of 70 horse-power, and a supply of 6,800 litres of gasoline, the navigable radius of action is estimated at 2,000 miles, the speed being about 15 miles an hour. The whole apparatus is to be fully tested before the attempt is made. According to recent trials, the loss of hydrogen is only about 1 per cent. of the volume of the gas bag in twenty-four hours.

If it can be demonstrated that a practicable trip of arctic exploration can be made with such an apparatus, some useful results may follow, even though no great measure of success be attained so far as the search for the pole is concerned. There are numerous explorations in various parts of the world which would be materially advanced if from a suitable base station a reliable aerial reconnoissance could be made. Photographs of regions otherwise inaccessible would serve to complete the record of the earth's surface, and various disputed questions be cleared up.

The Regulation of the Nile

From the pole to the tropics is a wide range, but the applications of engineering science cover all portions of the globe. During the past few months the question of the extension of the regulation of the Nile for the irrigation of Egypt has been actively discussed, and it is probable that the great dam at Assouan will be increased in height and also partly strengthened and reconstructed. The exact nature of the work to be undertaken has not been officially made public. In a despatch from Lord Cromer recently laid before Parliament, it is stated

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that the whole question has been carefully considered, especially in view of the doubts which have been cast upon the stability of the structure under the proposed conditions. The despatch contains a report by Sir Benjamin Baker, according to whose plans the dam at Assouan was originally built, and whose recent death draws added attention to these his last words on this critical subject. Sir Benjamin makes several statements which are of especial interest in connection with the most recent work at the dam. It had been found that the scour caused by the discharge of water through the sluices was causing serious erosion in the bed of the river below the dam. There has, therefore, been constructed a masonry apron below the dam to receive the force of the discharge, and this apron is now completed. Sir Benjamin Baker now states that the completion of this apron will permit the water level to be raised 1.50 metres without carrying out any works at the dam or locks, from which it must be assumed that until now the absence of the apron rendered it inadvisable to carry the water up to the level originally intended. He further states that the existing dam and locks may be so modified as to admit of the level of the water being raised 7 metres, but shows that the temperature variations make the problem a difficult one, especially in connection with the bonding of the new masonry to the existing structure. It has generally been assumed that the dam as it exists to-day is ready for the addition of 7 metres, or about 23 feet, to its height without further change. Such, however, is by no means the case, and if the present factor of safety is to be maintained with the added height the dam will have to be strengthened, at a cost of $7,500,000 in money and five years in time. When the new works are completed the additional amount of water stored is stated to be sufficient for the irrigation of 1,000,000 acres of land.

The question of the actual value of these works to the agricultural population of Egypt is to a certain extent a matter of economics, and outside of the field of these reviews. As a matter of fact, land values and rentals have been raised and the area under cotton cultivation protected, but the actual supply of food still seems to run short. As it now stands, the dam provides less than one fourth the amount of water required, and already it has cost $14,500,000, while half as much more will be required for the new works, the reservoir then being only a little more than half as large as is really necessary. In the meantime natural-storage reservoir sites, requiring a comparatively moderate expenditure to make them available, are ignored or overlooked.

Henry Harrison Suplee.

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THE DRAMA

RECENT PLAYS BY NEW AMERICAN DRAMATISTS

BY CLAYTON HAMILTON

THE most salient feature of the theatre season which has terminated lately in New York was the simultaneous success of several plays upon American subjects written by American authors hitherto unknown upon the boards. The mere fact that half a dozen managers gave a hearing to ambitious playwrights yet unknown was in itself remarkable; and the further fact that they reaped a harvest on their investment of courage and capital is reassuring to those who believe that the future of the American drama depends upon the encouragement afforded to new writers. The voice of several unrecognized American playwrights has been heard at last; and the public has learned that unrecognized American playwrights have all along had something to say. The way seems open to them now for several seasons; now or never, therefore, American drama must be born. And because of the high promise afforded by the success of the new American dramatists in the season that has lately closed, it seems advisable to analyze their efforts with thorough critical consideration, to decide what was worthy in their work and what was faulty, to the end that in the seasons to come they may hold fast to that which was good and avoid the reappearance of evil.

I have sufficient faith in the public to believe that the success of a play affords indisputable proof that the play deserved success. The reverse of this axiom does not logically follow; a play may fail that deserved to succeed; but when the public pays its money to see a piece, we may be certain that it gets its money's worth. Nevertheless, it is easy, upon the basis of popular approval, to rear a superstructure of over-praise. One at least of the new American successes of the season past was hailed by certain critics, and two or three others were advertised by their managers, as "The Great American Drama." The epithet was not, by any of the plays, deserved. Each of them was good, but none was great, because each was marred by some weakness in the theme, the structure, or the style which prevented its author from accomplishing the entire possibility afforded him. In view of this fact, excessive praise appears not only uncritical but also unencouraging. A really good play has earned the right to be criticised adversely for the faults that it exhibits; and it

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is by honest criticism of his faults that the best encouragement may be afforded to a dramatist who has done good work and promised to do better later on.

It is my purpose in the present paper to consider critically certain representative plays that have succeeded in the season past, each written by an American dramatist hitherto unknown or little known. I acknowledge at the outset that the plays were good; and for that very reason I intend to point out the faults of each, in order to indicate the lines along which our new playwrights must develop if "The Great American Drama" is ever to be more than a phrase.

The Test of Truthfulness

Dramatic criticism of an academic cast is of little value either to those who write plays or to those who see them. The man who buys his ticket to the theatre knows little and cares less about the technique of play-making; and for the dramatist himself there are no ten commandments. I have been gradually growing to believe that there is only one commandment for the dramatist—that he shall tell the truth; and only one fault of which a play is capable—that, as a whole or in details, it tells a lie. A play is bad only when the average theatre-goer—a man, I mean, with no special knowledge of dramatic art—viewing what is done upon the stage and hearing what is said, revolts instinctively against it with a feeling that I may best express in that famous sentence of Assessor Brack's, "People don't do such things." A play that is truthful at all points will never evoke this instinctive disapproval; a play that lies at certain points will lose attention by jangling those who know.

The test of truthfulness is the final test of excellence in drama. In saying this, of course, I do not mean that the best plays are realistic in method, naturalistic in setting, or close to actuality in subject-matter. *The Tempest* is just as true as *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* and *Peter Pan* is just as true as *Ghosts.* I mean merely that the people whom the dramatist has conceived must act and speak at all points consistently with the laws of their imagined existence, and that these laws must be in harmony with the laws of actual life. Whenever people on the stage fail of this consistency with law, a normal theatre-goer will feel instinctively, "Oh, no, he did *not* do that," or, "Those are *not* the words she said." A play is bad only when the audience does not believe it.

It is not an easy thing to tell the truth and nothing but the truth; and there are many, many ways in which a dramatist may lie. He may be untruthful in his very theme, if he is lacking in sanity of outlook upon

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the things that are. He may be untruthful in his characterization, if he interferes with his people after they are once created and attempts to coerce them to his purposes instead of allowing them to work out their own destinies. He may be untruthful in his plotting, if he devises situations arbitrarily for the sake of theatrical effect. He may be untruthful in his writing, if he puts into the mouths of his people sentences that their nature does not demand that they shall speak.

A dramatist is not capable of a single fault, either technical or otherwise, that may not be viewed as one phase or another of untruthfulness. The plays to be considered in this paper were, for the most part, true; and it was because of the freshness of the truth which they exhibited that each of them achieved success. But each of them told lies at certain points, either through unwisdom on the part of the dramatist or through lack of technical ability. In some cases the author did not know the truth; in others he was unable to express it.

"The Great Divide"

Mr. William Vaughn Moody, in *The Great Divide*, came very near to writing a great play. At the outset he began with a big theme, which was as new and daring as it was momentous and profound; and a big theme that is both deep and novel is a rarity indeed in this repetitionary period of the drama. Ruth Jordan, a young woman brought up amid the strait-laced puritanical conventions of New England, finds herself, under the wide skies of Arizona, stirred to certain inner feelings that indicate that she is ripe for real experience. A drunken ruffian named Stephen Ghent possesses himself of her under the law that might makes right. They are married. Stephen conceives for Ruth a love both manly and profound, under the influence of which he becomes the man that God intended him to be; but the woman revolts against their union, because it began in wickedness and she has not yet learned that out of evil good may grow. This great lesson is taught her after she has left her husband. She also learns at last the woman that God intended her to be, and of her own will she returns to Stephen. As Browning would have said, earth has gained by one man and woman the more, and the gain of earth must be heaven's gain too. The theme is deeply moral, and is worthy not only of Browning but of Mr. Meredith as well.

If Mr. Moody had told this momentous story at all points truthfully, he would have written one of the great plays of all time; but he fell far short of entire truthfulness, and his play was therefore to me one of the most disappointing that I have seen for several seasons. First and worst of all, he did not dare to tell the basis of his story as it really happened.

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It may be that in this initial lack of courage he was influenced by his actor-managers: I have not read the original manuscript of the play and can criticise the story only as the public paid to hear it. Unless at the outset Stephen possesses himself of Ruth by violence, there can ensue no spiritual struggle to realize the good that has been born of evil. Mr. Moody knew this very well; and yet, with a mistaken purpose of sparing the sensibilities of some callow-minded auditors, he deliberately lied in his first act by trumping up an impromptu marriage ceremony before a justice of the peace. "You may have me," said the heroine, of her own accord, "if you will take me under the law." In this makeshift marriage service it is impossible to believe. In the first place, a drunken ruffian who had just bought off one man and shot another in order to make himself sole master of a woman, finding himself at last alone with her in a ranch-house far from any help, would never have ridden for miles to wake up a snoring justice of the peace; and in the second place, even if he had done so, the New England woman would have demanded at once the protection of the justice and revoked her given word to marry her assailant. There can therefore be no second act unless the audience admits that in the first act the author has told them one thing and expected them to believe another. The first time that I saw the play, I was totally unmoved by Ruth's subsequent revolt against her husband; because, according to the letter of the author's first act, she was revolting merely against a relation she had brought upon herself. It was only during my third visit to the play, after I had schooled myself to feel the first act as it really happened instead of as the author said it did, that I realized that the second-act emotions of the heroine were true and vital instead of merely maundering.

It has long been our custom in the theatre, in setting forth certain situations, to mean one thing and say another, and then to ask the audience to translate the obvious lie into the truth, in order that the play may proceed. This may be for business reasons a serviceable policy; but from any real point of view it is not only false but prurient as well. No theme that is not inherently right and true, and therefore moral, is worth setting forth at all; but any theme that *is* worth setting forth should, it seems to me, be handled without compromise. What Ibsen has dared in Norway, we may dare in America; or what's our drama for? Even though our playwrights may be condemned to write for "the tired business man," I can see no reason why they should write also for the tired business man's daughter in boarding-school. And Mr. J. M. Barrie, in the wisest of his plays, *Alice-Sit-by-the-Fire,* has told us very deftly that the daughter in boarding-school might profit by having the truth

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told her in the theatre instead of a series of evasions that she is not mature enough to understand.

In several minor moments Mr. Moody was also untruthful in the conduct of his plot. A single instance will suffice for illustration. At the opening of his second act he tells us that Ruth and her husband have been living for a few months in the mountains practically alone, and that during this time she has been assiduously weaving blankets and baskets to sell at a tourist hotel some distance down the valley. Then he asks us to believe that in this way she has already made enough money to buy back a long chain of gold nuggets; and that, furthermore, although frequently she has toiled up and down an arduous trail freighted with the wares that she has manufactured, her husband has never suspected that she has been selling her handiwork. The point is trivial, of course; but the danger is that the audience, being asked by the author to believe an obvious impossibility, will lose faith in his truthfulness at more important moments. A dramatist cannot afford to sacrifice his credibility in little things, when he has larger things to say that must demand belief.

Again, Mr. Moody was frequently untruthful in his writing. The greatest danger for a literary man who turns his effort to the theatre is the danger of writing over-well from an artistic standpoint, and therefore badly from a dramatic one. Mr. Moody's theme was so vital that he should have written down at all points the words that his people really said; but instead of doing this, he frequently translated what they really said into the language of the best poet in America to-day. Miss Margaret Anglin confessed to me that many of her lines in the second act seemed to her too elaborately literary for Ruth to speak at such a moving moment, even though she *had* been brought up in New England. There were, to be sure, passages of very truthful writing in the play. The small part of Lon Anderson evoked approval for vernacular dialogue, and Stephen's lines in the last act hit home with deep simplicity. But in the elaborately literary humor of Polly Jordan one suspected the Professor of English Literature in the University of Chicago. Artistry in non-dramatic writing is a very different accomplishment from efficiency in dialogue. Mr. Moody has long been recognized as an able artist in verse, and certain of his academic writings have proved him also to be a master of literary prose. But in the crises of their lives, people do not talk in literary prose: they doff the artist in putting on the man. Not until he has conquered a greater simplicity and directness of utterance will Mr. Moody write as well for the theatre as he has written for the library.

For all these reasons, *The Great Divide* seemed to me a disappointing play. It did not quite achieve the greatness that its theme demanded.

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But it was the most striking attempt to achieve something great that our theatre has set forth for several seasons, and it deserved success because of its sincere intentions.

"The Three of Us"

The Three of Us, by Miss Rachel Crothers, deserved success on other grounds. It was strong in the very points wherein *The Great Divide* was weak, and weak in the very points wherein *The Great Divide* was strong. It was a lesser thing done better. There was no big idea behind it; it had no theme; and its homely little story of a young girl and her two younger brothers, the villain who loved her, and the hero whom she loved, was not at all important. And yet its homely little story was handled, on the whole, with such sincerity and truthfulness that the play touched the heart like the wisdom of a child. The plotting was unskilful and the structure was not firmly built. The second act, which was dangerously thin, turned chiefly on the heroine's clinging to a foolish promise she had given to the villain without knowing what it was that she was promising; and the third act introduced the conventional situation of the heroine's being discovered by the hero in the villain's rooms at midnight and being suspected of the worst. But the weakness of the plot at vital moments in *The Three of Us* was, remarkably enough, a matter of very small importance. The piece was not primarily a play of plot but a play of character, and the people of the story were seen clearly by the author and reported faithfully. People so simply and engagingly alive have seldom walked the boards in recent seasons. They felt as people do, and thought as people do, and (on the whole) behaved as people do. And their feelings, thoughts, and actions were so wonderfully usual that they evoked emotion like the unexpected sight of a familiar face.

The little scene that opened the last act of this play deserves to be long remembered in our theatre. A young lad, tangled in circumstances, has decided to run away from home in the early morning. His elder sister discovers him just as he is about to leave the house, and makes him change his mind. She does this, not by mothering his weakness, but by asking him to father her with his strength. Instead of telling him to brace up and take things bravely, she makes him tell *her* to do so. She makes a man of him by needing him to be a man. That was all there was to do in this little scene, but Miss Crothers did it with absolute truthfulness. And there is something about absolute truthfulness in any work of art, however slight, that brings a moisture of recognition to the eyes.

But the chief excellence of *The Three of Us* was the fact that it was

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greatly written. Miss Crothers had never been heard of before and Mr. Moody had long been recognized as a literary artist; and yet, when it came to writing dialogue, she easily surpassed him. Miss Crothers seems to have a knack of writing down exactly what her people really said, without translating it into any other language—her own or some one else's. In the scene I have selected for especial praise, not a word seemed fabricated by the dramatist; each word seemed spoken inevitably, then and there for the first time. There were frequent repetitions in the dialogue, for in scenes of emotion people frequently repeat. The characters spoke in phrases rather than in sentences: it is thus that people really speak when their thoughts are those that lie too deep for tears. Mr. Bronson Howard has said to me in casual conversation that he considers the dialogue of *The Three of Us* the most simply and directly truthful that he has heard for years.

The Three of Us was by no means a great play. Its main shortcoming was the fact that it wasn't *about* anything. But if, in some future play, Miss Crothers can set forth a really vital theme with a story-structure firmly built, and at the same time can write with such touching sincerity of dialogue as she has shown in this, she will accomplish a performance that will be memorable in the history of the American drama.

"The Chorus Lady"

In spite of the fact that Mr. James Forbes's *The Chorus Lady* presented a sentimental view of the phase of life which it depicted, it deserved success, not merely on account of the novelty of its subject-matter but also on account of honest humor and a sincere effort to be real. This effort was successful in the first and second acts. The return of the chorus lady to her home among the racing-stables and her life in the make-up room behind the scenes were convincingly portrayed, and both acts were written in a vivid racy slang that (to speak in harmony with the subject) delivered the goods. A slang so rich, so various, and so expressive not only convulsed the auditors with laughter, but made them believe that if chorus ladies didn't actually use such language, they certainly would if they were clever enough. There was genuine emotion, also, in the first-act scene between the heroine and her lover, and genuine pathos in the homely simplicity of her mother's character. The play was living along very charmingly, until the author made up his mind that he ought to do something strikingly dramatic in his third act—and did something conventionally theatric instead. He employed the same situation that Miss Crothers used for the climax of *The Three of Us,* and per-

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mitted the hero to discover the heroine at midnight in the villain's rooms. Of course the hero acted like a cad—theatre heroes do at such a juncture—and an opportunity was given the heroine to deliver Third Avenue heroics. I don't think that Mr. Forbes himself believed in this dear old scene; for as soon as he saw it coming, he stopped writing truthful slang and translated what he had to say into conventional theatre-talk. All at once the chorus lady forgot her racy vivid jargon; she became another person—a *Two Orphans* sort of person—and delivered an address upon the thesis that in social entanglements "the woman pays—and *pays*—and PAYS." This ancient and honorable address evoked plaudits from the gallery, but made the judicious grieve. In the last act Mr. Forbes wrote truthfully again and almost made the audience forget that he had been lying for a time.

The Chorus Lady, therefore, failed of entire excellence because it was a compound of honest observation straight from life and conventional theatric artifice. It was true at certain moments and false at others. Mr. Forbes wrote badly only when he was trying hard to write well, and his play was weak only when he was trying hard to make it strong. He was not clever enough to let his story alone. In its most truthful moments the play seemed to write itself; in its least truthful moments the hand of the playwright was too apparent in it.

A New Word About an Old Situation

Long before *The Chorus Lady* and *The Three of Us* were produced, many dramatists had taught us that heroes have a habit of discovering heroines at midnight in another man's rooms. Why is it, I wonder, that in this familiar situation the hero always assumes the worst at once and casts the heroine away? It is a convention in the theatre that the hero should be the sort of man that the audience wishes the heroine to marry. Why, then, if he be conceived as worthy to marry her and make her happy, does he show so little faith in her at such a moment? The girl always has a good and simple reason for being in the villain's rooms. Why, I wonder, does the hero never even suspect that she may have an honest reason? And why, after he has discarded her like a cad, does the audience always approve of the reconciliation in the subsequent act, when the hero admits that it was all a mistake and the heroine promises to marry him after all?

The theatric view of life that is taken in these scenes seems to me not only base but false. I believe that a right-minded hero really worth while, loving a right-minded heroine really worth while, would believe in her at such a moment; and that even if the villain should (for reasons of

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his own) assert that the heroine was guilty, the hero would reply, not by believing the villain, but by punching his face. I should like to see the dear old situation handled in this way, truthfully for once. I offer the suggestion freely to any American dramatist; for I feel that if a hero were exhibited manly enough to believe in the girl that he loves, the audience would be surprised and pleased, and educated in the things that ought to be.

"The Man of the Hour"

Mr. George Broadhurst is not a new dramatist, and he is not an American by birth; but *The Man of the Hour* is his first venture in the serious drama, and its subject-matter is derived from his adopted country. The play succeeded mainly because, like Mr. Charles Klein's *The Lion and the Mouse,* it was a sort of dramatized newspaper. Its material was timely, and of vivid interest to "the tired business man." It told the story of a young man of good family who had never done anything in life until he was unexpectedly nominated and elected for the mayoralty by a gang of machine politicians that hoped to make a tool of his inexperience, and who, after his election, showed himself strong for righteousness and defeated the nefarious intrigues of the grafters who had made him. It would have been difficult for a dramatist to fail this season with a subject such as this. Interest in political graft is in the air, scattered wide by journalistic fulminations; and what the public has read about in life it likes to see enacted in the theatre. Mr. Broadhurst invented an interesting story that crystallized the mood of an epoch in our national development, and devised his play with a craftsman's hand made dexterous by long experience in farce. In consequence, the public liked the piece; and yet to me it seemed that Mr. Broadhurst made very little of his opportunity.

I think it not unfair to state that *The Man of the Hour* was the most untruthful of the season's great successes; the reason being that, throughout his work, the author fixed his mind upon the theatre instead of upon life. He showed a very clever sense of what would be effective on the stage, but very little sense of how things really happen in the world of men. He never seemed to ask himself, *"Do* people do such things?" but merely, "Will it interest the audience if I state that people do?"

The story, as I said before, was skilfully devised; and the play was pretty well constructed, except for unnecessary intricacy in the concluding act. Mr. Broadhurst's weakness was in characterization. Some of his people were real—the rival bosses, Horrigan and Phelan, for example, and the alderman who wavered on the verge of selling his vote; but the

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rest were puppets pulled by dramaturgic wires. The women were most noticeably false. The heroine loved one man, misunderstood him, broke her engagement to him, promptly announced her engagement to another man whom she hated, and ended by marrying the first. The mayor's mother, being apprised that her dead and idolized husband had been a grafter, was hardly shocked at all by the intelligence, but composedly told her son that he must always be an honest man—as if a woman would preach at such a moment! The play was replete with conventional theatric figures. Among them were a ruinous villain who was ruined in the end (poetic justice!), and a senile crack-voiced dotard who, having served in the war under the father of the mayor, greeted the young official with a rheumatic military salute. One felt that the orchestra should have played *The Star-spangled Banner* at this pathetic moment. The mayor's office was an extraordinary place. All the time that the mayor was making up his mind to quash the grafters, his mother, his sweetheart, the lover of his secretary, and other folks of sentimental interest kept happening in to interrupt him. He held a sort of family party in the intervals of official business.

Mr. Broadhurst's writing was without distinction. His politicians often spoke like living people, his women almost never; and most of his characters spoke the ordinary sort of theatre-talk which (in Mercutio's phrase) is enough and will serve, but which is devoid of those sudden flashes of reality that are meaningful. Mr. Broadhurst, in spite of his longer experience as an author, wrote less well than Mr. Forbes.

I regard *The Man of the Hour,* therefore, as a wasted opportunity. It deserved success because of its subject-matter; but from its subject-matter might have been developed a far better play, if the author had handled it with sincerity instead of with conventional theatricism.

"Salomy Jane"

Mr. Paul Armstrong's play, *Salomy Jane,* violated the geometrical axiom that a whole can never be less than the sum of its parts. His piece was much better in detail than in entirety. Like his earlier play, *The Heir to the Hoorah,* it was flimsily constructed and wavered up and down in interest.

It was frequently untrue in plotting. At the end of the second act, the hero, disarmed and bound by a heavy rope, was led off to be hanged by half a dozen men with guns. He had no friends among them; each of them was bent upon his death; and it was impossible to imagine, under the conditions, that without extraneous aid he could escape. And yet in the next act he appeared upon the stage, stated merely that he had gotten free, offered no explanation what-

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ever of the miracle, and proceeded to make love to the heroine. A more skilful technician than Mr. Armstrong would have found a reason for the hero's escape, and would have utilized the reason to contribute an effect of character. And yet this much must be admitted—the author had the audience on his side. The theatre-public is easily credulous; it will believe almost anything that it sees; and the mere fact of the hero's reappearance convinced the audience that he had escaped. Of course, if he didn't escape, the play could not go on; and no one wanted the play to stop. And since the audience is, after all, the final judge, Mr. Armstrong is hardly to be condemned for making it accept an impossibility. But I think he lost an opportunity by dodging the difficulty which bothered him. Some of the best moments in the greatest plays owe their origin directly to a difficulty which has stung the dramatist into making it an opportunity.

Mr. Armstrong was unsure of his entrances and exits, and his first-act exposition was very crudely handled. I mention these technical deficiencies chiefly because they didn't matter after all. They were more than atoned for by the truthfulness of his characterization and the sincerity of his writing. The play was rich in human interest. The people who appeared upon the stage were real people. They loved and hated with a large simplicity of motive that won the heart of the audience. The colonel from Kentucky with his exaggerated sense of honor flaring into hectic chivalry, the rough stage-driver whose love was won by a little child, the gambler who saved the life of his rival in love because he cared more for the girl than for himself—these were noble figures, truthfully conceived and finely drawn. And the writing was sincere throughout the play. The people talked as people do; thereby they evoked sympathy and made the audience care about their destinies.

The last line of *Salomy Jane* may be taken as an illustration of the feeling that pervaded it. The heroine loved a stranger in her country. She had suffered much to save him from many dangers imminent. When at last they were safe together and a new life was dawning for them, she looked up at him and asked him, "What's your name?"

Although Mr. Armstrong showed himself inferior to Mr. Broadhurst in mere theatrical dexterity, he far surpassed him in reality. *Salomy Jane* was a more sincere play than *The Man of the Hour,* though it was not so skilfully devised. And since it is less difficult to be clever than to be true, Mr. Armstrong's accomplishment was the greater.

Mr. Percy Mackaye's *Jeanne d'Arc* was generously accorded a *succès d'estime,* because the critics, and to some extent the public, were well

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disposed toward an American poet who had succeeded in getting a blank-verse drama set upon the boards. Yet I think that a great deal of the praise that was bestowed upon his effort was bestowed upon mistaken grounds. A good many people were bored by the performance, but solaced themselves with the reflection that, after all, the piece was literature, and that therefore, lacking entertainment, they had achieved edification. It is amazing how many people seem to think that the subsidiary fact of a play's being written in verse makes it of necessity dramatic literature. Whether or not a play is literature depends not upon the medium of utterance the characters may use, but on whether or not the play sets forth a truthful view of some momentous theme; and whether or not a play is drama depends not upon its trappings and its suits, but on whether or not it sets forth a tense and vital struggle between individual human wills. *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* fulfils both of these conditions and is dramatic literature, while the poetic plays of Mr. Stephen Phillips stand upon a lower plane, both as drama and as literature, even though they are written in the most interesting blank verse that has been developed since Tennyson. *Shore Acres,* which was written in New England dialect, was, I think, dramatic literature. *Jeanne d'Arc,* I think, was not, even though in merely literary merit it revealed many excellent qualities.

"Jeanne d'Arc"

Its chief excellence lay in the fact that it exhibited a central character of great loveliness and charm—a character drawn simply and consistently, with childlike sweetness and poetic strength. The story was panoramic and colorful; and the verse in which it was told, considered merely as verse and not as dialogue, was fluent, harmonious, and luring with a lyric lilt. But these were literary merits only; in dramatic merit the piece was unnecessarily deficient. Of course the story of Jeanne d'Arc is basically not a dramatic but an epic theme. Southey was nearer to the truth than Schiller when he made the maid a subject for narrative instead of drama. But Mr. Mackaye's handling of the theme was needlessly narrative throughout. He presented a series of story-telling pictures instead of a tense and rigidly constructed play. A whole scene was given up to a procession—a thing by its very nature narrative but undramatic. The heroine had a habit of hearing voices and seeing angels—a habit by its very nature lyric instead of dramatic. Jeanne remained throughout the narrative a person set apart; she did not come into personal contact with any of the other characters; but without personal contact there can be no clash of individual wills—in other words, no drama.

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In his very selection of incidents from the material before him, Mr. Mackaye proved himself deficient in sense of drama. From one point of view, and from one only, does the story of Jeanne d'Arc offer possibilities for a play. It must be taken as the story of a girl who made all France believe in her because she believed in herself, and subsequently lost her power over France and France's enemies because she lost her belief in herself. Whether actually or imaginatively, she was divinely inspired; and before her inspiration from on high—patent because she herself believed in it—strong hostile armies bowed their heads like wheat before the wind. Her will, made mighty by faith in itself, conquered the will of thousands. But there came a time when she questioned her own power and lost complete faith in her own will. Then, of necessity, her will weakened and her power sank, and she dwindled to her doom. The story, viewed thus, is a tragedy of disillusionment. Illusions may move mountains, so long as there is faith behind them; divested of informing faith, they blow away like smoke upon the air. Mr. Mackaye, I think, felt this as his theme; he therefore started out upon the right road. But it will be seen that the necessary climax of the story thus conceived must be the battering of hostile wills beneath which the maid's gigantic belief in herself is beaten down and shattered. This climax is, in Sarcey's phrase, a *scène à faire*—a scene that must be shown, if the audience is to be moved by the consequent catastrophe. But Mr. Mackaye did not show this scene; he entirely omitted the climax of his story. When the curtain fell upon his fourth act, the maid still believed in her inner inspiration; when the curtain rose on his fifth act, the audience was told, by narrative and not dramatic means, that during the interim she had somehow been overcome by doubt. Her doubt led to her doom; but because the audience had not been shown that her doubt had been inexorably beaten into her by opposing forces stronger even than her faith, the audience had no tears for her catastrophe. Mr. Mackaye left out his dramatic climax and merely versified its after effects in retrospective exposition.

Jeanne d'Arc was not a play; it was a narrative in verse, with lyric interludes. It was a thing to be read rather than to be acted. It was a charming poetic story, but it was not an interesting contribution to the stage. Most people felt this, I am sure; but most people lacked the courage of their feeling, and feared to confess that they were wearied by the piece, lest they should be suspected of lack of taste. I believe thoroughly in the possibility of poetic drama at the present day; but it must be drama first and foremost, and poetry only secondarily. Mr. Mackaye, like a great many other aspirants, began at the wrong end: he made his piece poetry first and foremost, and drama only incidentally. And I think that the

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only way to prepare the public for true poetic drama is to educate the public's faith in its right to be bored in the theatre by poetry that is not dramatic. Performances of *Pippa Passes* and *The Sunken Bell* exert a very unpropitious influence upon the mood of the average theatre-goer. These poems are not plays; and the innocent spectator, being told that they are, is made to believe that poetic drama must be necessarily a soporific thing. And when this belief is once lodged in his uncritical mind, it is difficult to dispel it, even with a long course of *Othello* and *Hamlet*. *Paolo and Francesca* was a good poem, but a bad play; and its weakness as a play was not excusable by its beauty as a poem. *Cyrano de Bergerac* was a good play, first of all, and a good poem also; and even a public that fears to seem Philistine knew the difference instinctively.

A word now as to blank verse upon the stage. Mme. Nazimova has been quoted as saying that she would never act a play in verse, because in speaking verse she could not be natural. But whether an actor may be natural or not depends entirely upon the kind of verse the author has given him to speak. Three kinds of blank verse are known in English literature—lyric, narrative, and dramatic. By lyric blank verse I mean verse like that of Tennyson's *Tears, Idle Tears;* by narrative, verse like that of Mr. Stephen Phillips's *Marpessa* or Tennyson's *Idylls of the King;* by dramatic, verse like that of the murder scene in *Macbeth*. The Elizabethan playwrights wrote all three kinds of blank verse, because their drama was a platform drama and admitted narrative and lyric as well as dramatic elements. But because of the development in modern times of the physical conditions of the theatre, we have grown to exclude from the drama all non-dramatic elements. Narrative and lyric, for their own sakes, have no place upon the modern stage; they may be introduced only for a definite dramatic purpose. Only one of the three kinds of blank verse that the Elizabethan playwrights used is, therefore, serviceable on the modern stage. But our poets, because of inexperience in the theatre, insist on writing the other two. For this reason, and for this reason only, do modern actors like Mme. Nazimova complain of plays in verse.

Mr. Mackaye's verse, for example, was at certain moments lyric, at most moments narrative, and scarcely ever dramatic in technical mould and manner. It resembled the verse of Tennyson more nearly than it resembled that of any other master; and Tennyson was a narrative, not a dramatic, poet. It set a value on literary expression for its own sake rather than for the purpose of the play; it was replete with elaborately lovely phrases; and it admitted the inversions customary in verse intended for the printed page. But I am firm in the belief that verse

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written for the modern theatre should be absolutely simple. It should incorporate no words, however beautiful, that are not used in the daily conversation of the average theatre-goer; it should set these words only in their natural order, and admit no inversions whatever for the sake of the line; and it should set a value on expression, never for its own sake, but solely for the sake of the dramatic purpose to be accomplished in the scene. Verse such as this would permit of every rhythmical variation known in English prosody, and through the appeal of its rhythm would offer the dramatist opportunities for emotional effect that prose would not allow him; but at the same time it could be spoken with entire naturalness by actors as ultra-modern as Mme. Nazimova.

Mr. Stephen Phillips has not learned this lesson, and the verse that he has written in his plays is the same verse that he used in his narratives, *Marpessa* and *Christ in Hades.* It is great narrative blank verse, but for dramatic uses it is too elaborate. Mr. Mackaye has started out on the same mistaken road: in *Jeanne d'Arc* his prosody is that of closet-verse, not theatre-verse. The poetic drama will be doomed to extinction on the modern stage unless our poets learn the lesson of simplicity. I shall append some lines of Shakespeare's to illustrate the ideal of directness toward which our latter-day poetic dramatists should strive. When Lear holds the dead Cordelia in his arms, he says:

> Her voice was ever soft,
> Gentle, and low,—an excellent thing in woman.

Could any actor be unnatural in speaking words so simple, so familiar, and so naturally set? Viola says to Orsino:

> My father had a daughter loved a man,
> As it might be, perhaps, were I woman,
> I should your lordship.

Here again the words are all colloquial and are set in their accustomed order; but by sheer mastery of rhythm the poet contrives to express the tremulous hesitance of Viola's mood as it could not be expressed in prose.

There is a need for verse upon the stage, if the verse be simple and colloquial; and there is a need for poetry in the drama, provided that the play remain the thing and the poetry contribute to the play. Mr. Mackaye, in *Jeanne d'Arc,* failed as a dramatist, although he succeeded as a narrative poet. Unless he alters his method, alters even his aim, he will never write a real poetic drama. And I say this the more emphatically because I appreciate keenly the loveliness and the loftiness of what he has accomplished in this something else than play.

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Excepting *Jeanne d'Arc,* all of the plays which have been reviewed in the present article drew their subject-matter from contemporary American life. It was the novelty and freshness of their material that Mr. William Archer most enjoyed when he saw these plays on his recent visit to America; and it was because of their novelty and freshness that they succeeded in New York even better than the most recent contributions by the accredited English masters, Mr. Arthur Wing Pinero and Mr. Henry Arthur Jones. The subject of Mr. Pinero's *His House in Order* was novel but not important; the subject of Mr. Jones's *The Hypocrites* was important but not novel. Neither drama, therefore, really mattered very much, except as a piece of play-making. In technical mastery, however, both dramas were amazing. The experienced British dramatists did their work far better than the inexperienced American.

The Promise of a Season's Accomplishment

On the basis of the last season, therefore, it seems logical to state that the strongest possibility for American drama lies in the fact that our national life, in its many varied phases, offers to dramatic authors at the present day wider tracts of subject-matter hitherto unexhibited in the theatre than the life of any other nation. We need only look about us in order to find subjects at once novel and important. We run no danger of a dearth of themes. On the other hand, it must be confessed that our most promising dramatists seem as yet to be hindered by inexperience from telling nothing but the truth. Some of them construct well but write badly—Mr. Broadhurst for instance; some of them write well but construct badly—Miss Crothers for example. In some of our plays, like *The Great Divide,* the theme is greater than the accomplishment; in others, like *The Three of Us* and *Salomy Jane,* the accomplishment is greater than the theme. None of our new plays, interesting as they all are, has been entirely satisfactory.

We can gain nothing by undue complacency. In the last season we have accomplished much toward establishing a national drama; but we must not mistakenly assume that we are near the goal. Our new dramatists have not yet learned the game. They are playing for big stakes, playing also with energy and dauntlessness; and in future seasons they may win for us the theatre we are waiting for. But they must strive earnestly to conquer their debilities, and learn to tell the truth and nothing but the truth.

Clayton Hamilton.

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LITERATURE

A DISCREET BIOGRAPHY[1]

THERE are many reasons why Mr. Rollo Ogden would be an ideal biographer of Mr. Godkin. He was Mr. Godkin's editorial associate on the staff of the New York *Evening Post* for many years. He enjoyed an intimate acquaintance with his chief. He saw him in all his moods and under all possible circumstances. He has, moreover, a keen insight into character and he writes in a style as lively and as pungent as that of Mr. Godkin himself. At the same time there are other reasons, equally obvious, why Mr. Ogden could not undertake the task of an impartial and independent biographer. The very closeness of his relations to Mr. Godkin would make it a difficult and delicate matter to write of him with perfect frankness. Having obtained much of his material from Mr. Godkin's own family, and being in a sense Mr. Godkin's literary executor, he is naturally enough estopped from exhibiting the subject of his book in any but a favorable light. He cannot disclose the defects and limitations which were so marked in Mr. Godkin as an editor, and which to a certain extent impaired his influence even with those who read him most assiduously. Few literary executors have the courage of a Froude; and Froude's example may well serve as a deterrent rather than as a model. Hence Mr. Ogden wisely prefers to figure merely as an editor of a mass of interesting letters.

Mr. Godkin as an editor had very definite and positive ideas. He was bred up in the school of John Stuart Mill, and his own associations in this country were with that section of society from which come Mugwumps, Anti-Imperialists, and men who believe on principle that whatever is is wrong. Mr. Godkin himself, being an Irishman, was also temperamentally opposed to the constituted authorities. All this made him necessarily a "reformer," and his whole editorial career was a long battle on behalf of unpopular causes. Some of these were essentially right, and therefore they finally prevailed. Others were such as never could gain the sympathy of Americans, and hence they failed. But into his advocacy of every cause Mr. Godkin flung himself with an intense ardor, using with extraordinary skill those controversial weapons with which nature had endowed him and which his training had sharpened to a keen edge.

[1] *The Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godkin.* With portraits. Edited by Rollo Ogden. 2 vols. New York: The Macmillan Company.

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As an editor he wielded an influence which is not to be measured by the length of his subscription list. What he taught his readers they in turn taught to others. His immediate appeal was to men of mind, and with them he wrought powerfully. Lucid as an expositor, maddening as an antagonist, he possessed logic, wit, sarcasm, and irony to a wonderful degree. There was, however, another side to his editorial career which was less admirable. He resembled his formidable opponent, Charles A. Dana, in this one thing: that he too often allowed personal feeling and personal prejudice to direct his pen. Those who were not with him were anathema. He could see no virtue in even the most honorable opponent. He had no patience and no charity for such; but he stabbed them and slashed them unmercifully. In name, the *Evening Post* was always independent. In fact, it was the most partisan journal in the United States. In ordinary newspapers men expected to find misrepresentation and unfairness; but Mr. Godkin's attitude of high morality made these things appear absolutely shocking when he perpetrated them. And he had also the very lamentable trait of being quite unwilling to rectify a wrong. When he had blackened an opponent's character and when he had received ample evidence of his error, he would still refuse to retract or to apologize. He would prefer even to take his chances in a libel suit rather than to do an act of elemental justice; and more than once this policy cost the *Post* large sums of money. Again, Mr. Godkin had a sense of humor which delighted all his readers; but, as is the case with so many other men, this humor vanished when anything touched himself or his own interests. The man who could jest with almost riotous fun about all other things became peevish, fretful, and waspish when the joke was turned against himself.

In the conduct of his paper, Mr. Godkin, like Dana, strongly influenced his associates. He was quick to recognize ability; he was generous in praise of what his subordinates accomplished. Oddly enough, he was not particularly conversant with the topics of the day. When he came to his office in the morning he relied upon other members of the staff for information about what had taken place in the preceding twenty-four hours. They furnished him with subjects; they looked up facts for him; indeed, they briefed him as an English barrister is briefed by an attorney. Then Mr. Godkin went to his desk and dashed off one or two of those pungent or vindictive or amusing articles which made the *Post* the power that it was. But, under such circumstances, it is evident that he was necessarily inaccurate at times, and perhaps also to the same conditions must be ascribed both his unfairness and his lack of sympathy with popular ideals.

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Naturally enough, Mr. Ogden could not dwell upon these phases of his late associate's personality. He has therefore chosen to exhibit Mr. Godkin in the light of Mr. Godkin's own public and private letters, his editorials and the comments of his friends. All this material, which is of extraordinary interest, has been deftly connected by sufficient narrative to give it coherence and continuity. As an editor Mr. Ogden has done his work marvellously well. He has selected with rare discretion and with a keen sense of what is permanently valuable. Mr. Godkin knew every one who was worth knowing both in public and private life, and his comments are singularly keen, even when they are hasty and unfair. Moreover, these memoranda cover a long and interesting period of history. Mr. Godkin began his career as a war correspondent in the Crimea. He continued it as an observer of American conditions just before the Civil War and during that great struggle; and later, after the *Nation* had been founded, as a power in American political life. His off-hand sketches of Greeley, Bryant, Charles A. Dana, Seward, Sherman, George William Curtis, Goldwin Smith, and other men of distinction are as interesting as his savage comments on the ruffians of the Tweed régime. The book, in fact, is a delightful panorama of American life from 1859 until 1899, and cannot be neglected by any one who wishes to make a social and political study of those forty years. It is interesting to note, what not many persons probably knew at the time, that in 1870 President Eliot of Harvard offered Mr. Godkin the chair of history in that university. Had he accepted it he would have been a most stimulating and valuable lecturer; but he was right in thinking that as editor of the *Nation* and of the *Evening Post* his influence would be far greater. Two of his reasons, however, for wishing to accept it are eminently characteristic of the man:

> I do not want to bring my children up in New York if I can avoid it, and the place has no social attractions for myself. I don't like New Yorkers, and I do like Bostonians.

Harry Thurston Peck.

A BOSWELL TO BEACONSFIELD[1]

It is as a Boswell to Beaconsfield that Mr. T. E. Kebbel will make his strongest appeal to American readers of English political biography in his *Lord Beaconsfield and Other Tory Memories;* although, quite apart from the side-lights on the great Conservative leader of the mid-

[1] *Lord Beaconsfield and Other Tory Memories.* By T. E. Kebbel. With Rembrandt portrait of Lord Beaconsfield. New York: Mitchell Kennerley.

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Victorian period, Mr. Kebbel's *Memories* are of distinct value for the insight they afford into party conditions in England in the period that lies between the Reform Act of 1832 and the third and most sweeping reform of the Parliamentary system in 1884-85. Mr. Kebbel's intimacy with Beaconsfield was not much akin to Boswell's intimacy with Johnson. It was not nearly so close or so continuous. But it was marked by some of the same characteristics; and Boswell surely never had a greater admiration of Johnson than Mr. Kebbel had of Beaconsfield. He regards Beaconsfield as his patron; and it is from that point of view throughout that his admiration of the Conservative leader is expressed.

Mr. Kebbel is the son of a Leicestershire vicar. His birth and upbringing were in the most Tory of Tory environment, and, despite all the changes that have been made in political England since the middle fifties, when he began his journalistic career on the *Press*—a weekly newspaper that Disraeli had established—he is still a Tory of the Tories, and the very embodiment of the political opinions that were associated with the *Standard* in the days when it was edited by Mudford and Curtis, and before it changed proprietors in 1904, and became the organ of Chamberlain and the English protectionists. For twenty years before this change came Mr. Kebbel had been an editorial writer on the *Standard;* and his work there must indeed have been congenial, for no daily newspaper in England was ever truer to the creed and traditions of the old Toryism than the *Standard* in the days when it was justly regarded as expressing the political opinions of the squire and the country parson.

It was an accident that threw Mr. Kebbel into journalism. He was educated at Oxford, and was called to the bar at Grey's Inn. But he was not where he could wait until briefs poured in upon him; and in 1855 he welcomed an opportunity of going on the staff of Disraeli's newspaper. The accident that thus diverted Mr. Kebbel from law into journalism cannot have been an unfortunate one for him; for among English Tory journalists who have not reached the dignity of an important editorial chair, none has had a more pleasantly successful career than Mr. Kebbel; none has done more for the advancement of the political principles that he has at heart; and it is easy to realize from these *Memories* that political editorial writing—in fact any writing that would advance the Tory cause—has always been congenial to him. For the Tory party the accident that brought Mr. Kebbel into their journalistic service was indeed a fortunate one. In the fifties and the early sixties of last century, after the Stamp Act had been repealed and the English newspaper press was at last free from all its fiscal burdens, no lack was more felt by the Tory party than that of men capable of writing well for the daily press

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who really believed in Toryism. It was easy enough, as Mr. Kebbel brings out in these *Memories* when he is writing of the founders of the *Yorkshire Post,* to find wealthy Tories who were willing to raise money to start Tory daily newspapers; but the hitch usually came when the editor and the editorial writers had to be recruited. For a long time Toryism was greatly handicapped from this cause, so much so that in the seventies and early eighties most of the daily newspapers out of London which were at once paying properties and influential in moulding political thought were in fullest sympathy with the Liberal party.

Between the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the third Reform Act in 1884-85, Disraeli rendered enormous service to the Tory party. During this period he practically reorganized and put new life into it. Directly and indirectly he did much for Tory journalism; and not least among the services he rendered to it was his discovery of Mr. Kebbel as a promising recruit for the Tory newspaper press. Disraeli parted with his control of the *Press* in 1858; but Mr. Kebbel continued in pretty close touch with him until 1873; and until the authentic biography of Beaconsfield which is now in preparation is published, Mr. Kebbel's *Memories* must remain the book from which the Tory leader in the days when he had reached this position can best be studied at close range. After years of fighting, Disraeli's position was well established by 1855—the year in which Mr. Kebbel's association with him began.

> At this time Mr. Disraeli was firmly established as the leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons. He had gained their confidence by the skill with which he had reformed their broken ranks, had reclaimed to their colors numerous waverers or deserters, and finally had formed a government which the public in general allowed to have played its part with dignity and efficiency. He always looked back on this stage of his career with satisfaction. He often told me of the pains which he had taken to reconstruct the party and the success which had rewarded them. The Conservative Ministry of 1852 showed how well he had performed his task. Out of the broken and dispirited remnants which accepted his leadership in 1848 he had built up a powerful opposition; had drawn from its ranks men capable of filling with credit the highest offices of the State; and had shown the world that there was again a Conservative Party, qualified both by numbers and ability to take the reins of government whenever the Liberals should drop them. To the younger generation of Tories he presented just that combination of originality, courage, and wit which was a welcome change after the Parliamentary respectability which followed the death of Mr. Canning. They asked for nothing better. After the great tergiversation of 1846, and the coalition of contradictories in 1853, men had ceased to inquire too curiously about principles.

Although Disraeli had ceased to be the owner of the *Press* in 1858, he was again in close association with Mr. Kebbel in 1866, when Mr.

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Kebbel was editor of the *Day,* a daily newspaper that was launched to support the Parliamentary Reform Bill of the Tories that was enacted in 1867; and it is in writing of this episode in the history of the Tory party that Mr. Kebbel puts on record Disraeli's opinions on the great constitutional changes in England which had their beginnings in 1832.

> Disraeli's ideas on the subject of Parliamentary reform in general can hardly be gathered either from his speeches or his books. Though he was no friend to the Venetian Constitution, he was as little a friend to democracy; and looking at the question as a practical statesman, apart from historical speculations, he considered that the English aristocracy had it in their power before 1832 to preserve the best parts of the old Constitution intact. But after 1832, he said, there was no stopping. An arbitrary pecuniary franchise could only be maintained so long as it was not assailed. Not to suggest changes, and to refuse them when they were demanded, were two totally different things. The Whigs, he once said, taught the English people to eat of the tree of knowledge, and to know that they were naked. The rest followed as a matter of course. Successive requests for more clothing in the shape of franchises had to be granted with discretion. A hungry man must not have too much to eat all at once. It must be given by degrees. But he thought the Conservative Reform Bill of 1867 had done enough for the time. It had satisfied a large section of the population. He knew that more would have to be done. He said that of course the turn of the peasantry would come, almost implying sometimes that it would not be in his own time. Others must carry on the work, which, perhaps, need never have been begun; but as it had been, it would be necessary to go on.

As has been said, Mr. Kebbel's *Memories* are valuable, apart from the chapters devoted to Beaconsfield. They bring out better than any of the existing political histories and better than any history of political parties in England that has yet been written the position and aim of Toryism between the days of Pitt and the last great division in the Tory party due to the propaganda which Chamberlain began in 1903. The Toryism of which the creed is "keep all you can have" of political and social advantage is set forth in its pleasanter aspects in Mr. Kebbel's retrospects, and especially when he is describing the Toryism which he seems to know best—that of the squire and parson, and their political and social attitude towards the Established Church, towards dissenters, and towards tenant farmers, retail tradesmen in country towns, and agricultural laborers. It is a patriarchal Toryism of which Mr. Kebbel is so much enamoured—a Toryism which seems much out of date in these days of a widely extended Parliamentary franchise, of halfpenny daily newspapers which reach the remotest country villages, of cheap railway travel, and of constant movement between town and country. It is a Toryism that is idealized a little in Mr. Kebbel's pages; but it is a Toryism that

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must have presented some ideals to Mr. Kebbel, or he could never have worked long and vigorously, as he has done, to uphold it.

Incidentally Mr. Kebbel makes some interesting revelations of the relations which formerly existed between Government and the press in England. Mr. Kebbel was more than half-way through his long career as a Tory publicist before journalists ceased to look to the politicians whom they supported for Government offices as rewards. These rewards were never considerable. Nothing more valuable or important than an inspectorship of factories or a consulship was ever bestowed on a journalist, although a county court judgeship was, through Beaconsfield's good offices, once offered to Mr. Kebbel by Lord Chancellor Cairns. The end of the connection between Government and newspaper writers came while Mr. Kebbel was still in harness. Nowadays no Government in England—Liberal or Conservative—ever dreams of bestowing Government appointments on a journalist. Journalists do not look for Government appointments any longer, because there are few appointments open to journalists which a successful newspaper editor or political editorial writer would accept. All rewards nowadays go to newspaper proprietors; and for twenty years past newspaper support of a Government has been remunerated, not by offices in the civil service, but by baronetcies or peerages. This form of reward for partisan newspaper support is now so well assured that no proprietor of a daily newspaper need stay long outside the baronetage or the peerage. This is why wealthy colliery owners and wealthy manufacturers, who know as much of journalism as they do of Greek, are found when well on in middle life carrying the financial burden of a daily newspaper. It means simply that they have accumulated sufficient wealth to found a territorial family, and that it has seemed to them that the newspaper route to a peerage was the one they could travel with ease. Both political parties reward their newspaper supporters in this way; and thus whether Liberals or Tories are in power, the peerage grows; and with every addition to the peerage, whether at the instance of a Liberal or a Tory Prime Minister, there comes, sooner or later, added strength to the Toryism of which Mr. Kebbel has been for so long a newspaper exponent.

Edward Porritt.

WRIGHT'S LIFE OF PATER[1]

"THE function of the æsthetic critic," says Walter Pater in the preface to *The Renaissance,* "is to distinguish, analyze, and separate from

[1] *The Life of Walter Pater.* By Thomas Wright. Two vols. Illustrated. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

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its adjuncts the virtue by which a picture, a landscape, a fair personality in life or in a book produces this special impression of beauty or pleasure, to indicate what the source of that impression is, and under what conditions it is experienced." In his criticism of Pater's critical method, Mr. Wright quotes the substance of this passage, representing Pater as asking himself before writing on any subject, "What is that man's or that object's real self? . . . In short, what is its Formula?" But in spite of the precept and example of his subject, Mr. Wright nowhere comes nearer to supplying us with a "formula" for Pater's peculiar excellence than to assert that he is "a painter of imaginary portraits." Obvious as this judgment is with reference to Pater's method, it is totally insufficient to characterize the substance of his contribution to literature.

But if Mr. Wright fails of producing an adequate critical formula in which we may epitomize his estimate of Pater as an artist, he has given us a number of comparisons or analogues to serve as tests of his critical acuity. Let us not dwell on his observation that Pater is "the grasshopper of English literature"; the grotesque nature of the suggestion may perhaps be set down to the account of the humorist in this biographer. Take a more sober passage, in which there is no suggestion of levity—a paragraph out of a chapter on Pater's style. Quoting the distinction of Mr. Watts-Dunton between the "two leading impulses that govern man" (broadly speaking, the romantic and the classical), he proceeds:

> In what relation, we may ask, does Pater stand to the newly awakened spirit of romance? Is his work allied to the artificialities of Pope, Dryden, and Gray (for Pater is essentially a poet), or is he steeped in the fountain which is Coleridge? Well, it seems to us that Pater belongs to both schools. As a rule, he worked in the spirit of Pope; . . . his method of work was like that of Pope, only worse.

This, of the arch-Romanticist of the later nineteenth century, the man who might be called the last of the Romanticists, is at least startling. But this illuminating dictum pales beside the calm assertion that Pater was "the Alma-Tadema of English literature." And why? Because, forsooth, he loved white marble surfaces. How Mr. Wright missed calling Pater the Mark Twain of English literature, because he sometimes wrote in bed, or the Nietzsche of English literature, because he was liberally moustached, is a mystery.

Obviously, nothing of value is to be looked for in the way of criticism from a man capable of such pronouncements; these two bulky volumes mark no forward step toward a just and final evaluation of Pater's significance in literature. But this was perhaps not to be expected. Mr.

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Wright is not a critic, but a professed biographer. The fact is sufficiently proclaimed in the early pages of the work, along with other matters of some interest. It is only fair to judge him on his own ground, which he has taken with evident deliberation. No one, after reading his preface, need be in doubt as to the claims he makes for his work. At the outset he puts out of court, with a wave of the hand, all earlier accounts of Pater's life. They are "crowded with the most astonishing, the most staggering errors." The chief transgressor in the eyes of Mr. Wright is, of course, Mr. A. C. Benson, the author of the monograph in the English Men of Letters Series. It would be interesting to examine in detail Mr. Benson's "principal errors of commission and omission," twelve in all; but it is not necessary to our present purpose. At least half of them are so trivial as to have no significance one way or the other. Five or six at most of the counts in Mr. Wright's indictment have interest for the student of Pater's life.

Of these perhaps the most important is the statement that Mr. Benson does not even mention five of Pater's most intimate friends, including one Richard C. Jackson, the alleged original of Marius, with whom he was on terms of intimacy for seventeen years. The omission is bountifully rectified by Mr. Wright; he devotes perhaps half of his second volume to this intimate associate, of whom Mr. Gosse, Dr. Shadwell, Dr. Bussell, and other close friends of Pater apparently never heard. It is unfortunate that this romantic story must rest, as it does, on the practically unsupported word of Jackson himself, who thus comes into Pater's life, so to speak, a dozen years after his death. Documentary evidence confirming the intimacy is singularly lacking. This lack might be set down to the fact noted by Mr. Benson, that Pater wrote very few letters; but no, cries Mr. Wright, Pater wrote "an enormous number of letters—as many as four hundred, indeed, to one friend." Yet not one word have I been able to find quoted by Mr. Wright from any letter written to Mr. Jackson. Indeed, the only letter of Pater's mentioned in the entire second volume is the one written after Jowett's death, which was published in his *Life*. In the face of Mr. Wright's positive statement this fact is either a grave reflection on his diligence as a biographer, or—but we need not press the alternative.

One further example of Mr. Benson's "errors": "Mr. Benson tells nothing," says Mr. Wright, "about the great central event of Pater's life—his connection with the St. Austin's 'Monkery,' which is something like giving an account of Wellington and leaving out the Peninsular War and Waterloo." Now, what is the true complexion of this "central event," on Mr. Wright's own showing? Somewhere about 1878,

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he tells us, Pater met, through Mr. Jackson, the Rev. Father Nugée, who had established an ecclesiastical brotherhood and a chapel, St. Austin's, with a very ornate ritual. Attracted by the service, Pater occasionally attended this chapel, as he did other elaborate services, both Catholic and Anglican. This, so far as can be discovered, was the extent of his "connection" with the St. Austin's Monkery; that it should form a "central event" or "climax" in his life is a theory too silly for notice were it not a fair example of Mr. Wright's method.

The most charitable construction to be placed on this parade of absurdities is that Mr. Wright, with a childlike trust that might be touching in a less experienced biographer, has accepted the unsupported recollections of this soi-disant friend of Pater's as sufficient to establish historical truth, however at variance with probabilities or with previously recorded facts. In short, Mr. Jackson—a sufficiently unattractive figure as here presented to us, in spite of Mr. Wright's ardent eulogies—is allowed to become the author of a substantial portion of the work, expatiating unchecked on his conception of Pater's relations and Pater's obligations to himself. In the first volume Mr. Wright similarly waives his editorial prerogative in favor of a Mr. McQueen, one of Pater's schoolmates at Canterbury.

By such means Mr. Wright has assembled the material necessary to make up—with the generous assistance of the printers—two volumes of the required size. He traces with all possible minuteness the course of Pater's uneventful life, following him through his school days at the King's School in Canterbury, thence to Oxford, accompanying him on his occasional visits to the Continent, recording his removal to London and his return to Oxford. It may safely be asserted that little exploration of this kind remains to be done by a future biographer. He has gathered, too, a number of anecdotes about Pater and his friends. A few of these are of genuine interest; others would have a certain value if properly authenticated; by far the larger number are either trivial and insignificant, or totally unconnected with Pater himself. Among the seventy illustrations, which Mr. Wright assures us are "of intense interest," there are four portraits and a caricature of Pater, three of which are unfamiliar; pictures of the various places in which he lived, views of his rooms, pictures, and inkstands. There are, besides, views of the house which was *not* the one described in *The Child in the House;* of the church which Pater occasionally attended, and the chair in which he sometimes sat when he visited his friend Jackson. Of this gentleman there are portraits in various striking attitudes and costumes; views of this and that corner in this and that room of his house; reproductions

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of illustrations from books which he owned; even his pet dog is immortalized in a full-page portrait.

These irrelevancies are in themselves harmless enough. Evidently Mr. Wright was bound to produce a work of the required size and apparent importance, and not finding a sufficiency of legitimate material—for Pater lived the most uneventful and secluded of lives—he took what was to be had and made the largest possible show with it. Had he been content with this, there would be no reason for taking his book seriously. But it is not so easy to pass over in good-humored tolerance his coarse attack on Mr. Benson, his gratuitous sneer at Mr. Greenslet's suggestive little study of Pater, and his vulgar laudation of his own work. "It is," he proclaims, "the kind of work (if I may without egotism say so) in which Pater himself would have gloried." It is actually, of course, the kind of work which would have disgusted Pater beyond words. "I have spared no pains to be accurate, and my investigations have obliged me to contradict flatly (though I hope courteously) much that has been written about Pater by superficial or less privileged writers." If not inaccurate, he is at least incredibly uncritical, and his courtesy, already sufficiently illustrated, is displayed in the sentence just quoted. "I have endeavored to bear in mind that the first duty of a biographer is to try to avoid hurting the feelings of any living person." It is said that the work was published in the face of a protest from the surviving members of Pater's family. "I feel for Pater a sympathy bordering on love; . . . it [the *Life*] will seem practically an additional *Marius* or *Renaissance*—that is to say in the sense of its being a new presentment of Pater's mind." So far is this from the truth that this work will seem to many the supreme example of the tactless and unsympathetic biography. It is equally distinguished for failure to penetrate the character of the man and pitiful incapacity to appreciate the excellence of his work.

Edward Clark Marsh.

THE FALLACY OF TENDENCIES IN FICTION

BY FREDERIC TABER COOPER

A good deal of well-intentioned foolishness has been written regarding the tendencies which from time to time certain critics are pleased to think that they have discovered in the new fiction of a particular season. It is of course as natural and as logical to watch for changes in the form and aim of the novel and to try to determine the underlying principles of such changes as in any other branch of literature. Fiction is

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subject, equally with poetry, history or the essay, to the gradual and unremitting action of the laws of evolution, and the stories of to-day which posterity will single out as the fittest to survive will differ appreciably from those which the present generation has chosen to preserve from earlier decades. And yet it is quite true that most of the so-called tendencies in fiction, in so far as they imply any permanent influence, any change that will make the novel of to-morrow different in kind from the novel of to-day, are largely fallacious. And the simple explanation is that the critics who discuss this subject do not make clear to the reader, perhaps have not made clear to themselves, just what they mean by the term "tendency." They have not duly taken into account the motley variety of influences all the time at work upon the makers of novels; influences which count for little or nothing in the writing of history or biography or philosophical treatises. In these, a new tendency means an improved method for chronicling the lives of individuals or of nations, an improved system for setting forth a code of philosophy. But in nine cases out of ten a tendency in fiction does not mean a better way of picturing life as it really is, but simply a new way of making a "best selling book." Mr. Marion Crawford has somewhere owned quite frankly that he is "credibly informed by his publishers that novel-writing is a business;" and in this respect he does not stand alone. The factor of commercialism really underlies the great majority of newly discovered tendencies in fiction; they no more represent the natural and spontaneous development of a literary form than the geographical distribution of caged canaries represents the natural migrations of songbirds. When a *Richard Carvel* or a *Janice Meredith* catches the popular fancy for a brief season, a flood of colonial novels follows in their wake; when *An Englishwoman's Love Letters* turned public favor in a new direction, there resulted a host of volumes that read like the "First Aid to the Love Lorn" columns in the evening newspapers. Yet these were not tendencies, in the proper sense of the term. They did not mean that novelists whose work counts seriously in the history of letters had come to the conclusion that these passing fads were an improvement upon the methods of Dickens or Thackeray or Trollope. They meant only that for the time being a certain brand of popular novel, like a certain brand of soap or breakfast food, was being successfully exploited.

The Business Element in Fiction

The only safe and sane way in which to study the tendencies of the modern novel, is to recognize frankly that not five per cent. of the books constantly pouring from the press really count in any enduring way; that the whole onward movement of fiction may be fairly likened

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to a river which, in the spring flood of the present hour, has overflowed its banks and spread out widely beyond its boundaries, here broadening into a pretentious sea, there rioting down a new channel that promises to divert it permanently from its former course. And all the while, hidden far below the surface of this boisterous, undisciplined flood of popular fiction, the old, well-worn course remains unchanged. A little time passes, the freshet has subsided, the new channels have run dry, the normal current reappears once more, flowing tranquilly along its ordained course; and all that remains of the boasted new tendencies is an additional stratum of alluvial deposit on the banks of the river of literature. Indeed, it is not too much to say that scarcely a single volume of real importance has resulted directly from any one of these sudden surface movements in fiction. Sometimes a book of great cleverness but debatable merit, such as *David Harum,* will start a current of considerable apparent strength. But the writers of enduring quality are not only outside of the popular movement of the hour, but rarely have successful imitators. The novels of the past quarter century which have the best chance of surviving are those which least reflect the so-called tendencies of their time. Stevenson quietly and undauntedly adhered to his romantic creed at a time when the reaction against romanticism was at its strongest. Kipling and Hewlett and Joseph Conrad, to name but three contemporary writers who show qualities that are not ephemeral, obviously write with scant regard for the fluctuations of the popular mood. Yet a later generation will see in *Kim* and *The Queen's Quair* and *Nostromo,* wide apart as they are in style and purpose, a far more accurate guide to the tendency of present-day fiction, than in any of the "best selling books of the month."

The Steady Undercurrent

And this brings us to the natural and fair question: if the majority of the so-called tendencies are fallacious, what is the real and trustworthy tendency of fiction, from season to season, from decade to decade? If novel writing were a stereotyped art; or if it were customary to study the early masters of fiction as art students study the Preraphaelites, and to make replicas of Fielding and Richardson and Smollett, instead of following new and independent paths, then even the novice in criticism might pick out the good work from the bad. But under existing conditions, by what criterion are we to distinguish out of the mass of mediocrity the occasional book that really counts, the rare author who is going to exert an enduring influence upon future fiction?

This is a question which may not be answered with assurance. Pre-

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dictions regarding the future destiny of books, and especially of novels, are always rash, and the personal equation enters so largely into such judgments that no absolute working rules can be laid down. But in the main, it may be safely said that throughout the history of its development fiction, like all things else that are subject to the laws of evolution, has changed slowly, showing as strong an adherence to type, and as little tendency to produce new species and genera, as any of the members of the physical world. The novel in its modern form is a conception of more unity of form and purpose than anything that the classic world conceived. Yet realism, in its fidelity to evil and good alike, to the little significant trifles as well as the momentous crises, was not an invention of Zola. It was already understood and applied with forceful irony in the *Satiræ* of Petronius. The Beast Story, from its early literary development in the *Hitopadeça,* down through Æsop and La Fontaine to Kipling, is in the *Jungle Books* different only in degree, but still essentially the same in kind. Indeed, the whole cycle of Mowgli stories are nearer in spirit to their Sanskrit prototypes than to the work of the great French fabulist. But whatever the type of fiction, whether realistic novel or picaresque romance or simple beast fable, the same general tendency is observable—a natural and logical tendency to keep pace with civilization, to become more careful of the truth, in proportion as the reading public becomes more sophisticated. And this increased respect for the truth on the part of the novelist is not a matter of ethics, but of self-preservation. The romanticist, quite as much as the realist, must assume a virtue if he has it not. If his hero is mortally wounded and the reader knows it, prayers, witchcraft, black magic, will no longer serve to restore him to life; but a little pseudo-science, a few pages of bloodless surgery, skin-grafting and germ cultures, will win eager credence. And so, too, with the animal story. The child who has long since discarded the wolf who "huffed and puffed and blew the house down," will read of Gray Brother with tireless interest, though he knows quite well that the one tale is as much a tissue of dreams as the other. But Mr. Kipling's animals in the main come fairly near to satisfying the impression which the average modern child has of wolves and tigers and elephants; they do not gratuitously spoil the illusion by reminding him at every turn of the page that they are after all only make-believe.

The Adherence to Type

And this quite naturally leads back to the tendency of literary forms to adhere rather closely to the original type. In literature, as in horticulture, the "sport" variety is always an uncertain quan-

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tity. Rarely it may produce a new species, of widespread popularity, but more often it ends in disappointment. The whole class of animal stories which it is the fashion for the moment to stigmatize as the work of "Nature Fakirs" might not unjustly be described as a "sport" variety of the *Jungle Books*. They are something illogical, abnormal, apart from the natural development of the type. The beast story is founded on a convention which recognizes that the actors in it are human faults and weaknesses masquerading under the guise of animals. The Nature Fakir's story rejects the convention, and insists upon our recognizing as flesh and blood what is really only a masque and symbol. That is why the type of the Nature Fakir story is not sound art and is not destined to live. To accept even the best of nature stories as text books on animal life is akin to accepting the Dumas novels as text books upon French history.

The "Nature Fakirs"

In spite of the periodic vogue of the Purpose Novel, it may be said unhesitatingly that the deliberate attempt to inculcate any particular art, science or doctrine through the medium of fiction should be numbered among the fallacious tendencies. One does not read novels in order to learn a certain writer's private views about natural history, or Christian Science, or the rotation of crops—one reads them primarily to be entertained. And yet the novelists who secure an abiding hold upon their readers are something more than the mere "public entertainers" that Mr. Marion Crawford calls them. They must be men keenly conscious of the lessons which the realities of every-day life contain; they must write of life truthfully, so far as in them lies, secure in the belief that the best art does not require them to distort a single fact, because life of itself is always more interesting than any deliberately false presentment of it. They may, and indeed ought to have a very definite purpose underlying their book; it does not follow that they need to write a Purpose Novel. An author may wish to show the evils of sweat shops, of pool rooms, of "frenzied finance." Good art and good sense alike tell him to copy life as faithfully as he can; and if the evils really exist, the reader will see them for himself, and the lesson will be conveyed. But a Purpose Novel is like a picture in which the artist has deliberately painted in the evils against which he inveighs, regardless of whether they have a real existence. The result is not a lesson conveyed, but simply a consciousness that the whole picture is painfully out of drawing.

The Purpose Novel

In singling out a half dozen recent novels for detailed examination, no claim is made here that they are masterpieces of English fiction, destined to a permanent place in the list of volumes that the well-read person

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is expected to know. But they are at least books which have striven to follow the best traditions of fiction, books which have tried to be faithful to the realities of life, and to avoid those fallacious tendencies that are the stamp of the novel which is merchandise as distinct from the novel which is literature. With this distinction in mind, *The Country House,* by John Galsworthy, seems to be a book peculiarly deserving of careful consideration. In all the real dramas of life, big or little, the world at large takes a double interest; first, as regards the actual deeds of certain men and women; secondly, and perhaps even more keenly, as regards what other men and women have to say on the subject. Abstractly, a murder or a suicide in the isolation of an African desert is as dramatic as though it occurred amid the afternoon throngs on Broadway; but for the purposes of fiction, the former theme is barren of material as compared with the latter. To get the full tensity of human interest, you must have the effect upon the outside world, from the few who are closely and poignantly affected by the tragedy, down to the chance spectator, stirred only to a transient curiosity. It is precisely this power of showing the effect of a domestic drama on the local world in which it occurs that exalts Mr. Galsworthy's new volume into a class by itself. There is nothing novel or meritorious in a story of a young woman cursed with too much temperament, who being bound by marriage to a coarse-grained man unable either to understand or sympathize with her, finds another and younger man not only able but eager to do both. The special merit of *The Country House* is quite independent of this rather hackneyed situation. Indeed, the specific and personal drama of George Pendyce and Helen Bellew is deliberately thrown into the background. We catch fleeting yet illuminating glimpses of them, exchanging covert glances across the expanse of a crowded dinner table; stealing a swift caress in the fragrant dusk of a conservatory; supping clandestinely in the tawdry back parlor of some unfrequented, second-rate restaurant; and without effort we fill in the gaps between the lines. But the real story that Mr. Galsworthy has to tell is something radically different; it is the story of a break in family tradition, of violence done to the established customs of a social order. The little world that centres in the village of Worsted Skeynes and the House of Pendyce, that for generations has been a power in the county, is a rather remarkable study of stolid British conservatism. To Horace Pendyce, any rude break in the established order of things means chaos and ruin. His one prayer is that he may be the man his father was before him, and that his son may be, after him, the man that he himself is to-day. His one fear is that some member of

The Country House

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the House of Pendyce may do something that will give the outside world the right to talk and look askance and raise its eyebrows. And suddenly a catastrophe worse, much worse than anything that he ever dreamed, befalls the House of Pendyce. His son and heir, George Pendyce, is named as co-respondent in the suit for divorce that Helen Bellew's husband institutes against her. Here is the focus of interest of the whole book; here is Mr. Galsworthy's opportunity to show his keen understanding of human nature, his mastery of the technique of fiction. The rather sordid drama of a weak man and a foolish woman quite palls beside the keener interest of a proud old house under the imminent shadow of an unsavory scandal. The little world of Worsted Skeynes may not be painted on a very broad canvas, but it is drawn in with an admirably assured touch. And the pervading tone of indulgent irony justifies the classification of this volume with the fiction which in a true sense is a criticism of life.

Katherine

A book which lacks the inherent bigness of *The Country House,* and which is nevertheless deserving of attention, because of the careful study it reveals of the motives that actuate men and women, is *Katherine,* by E. Temple Thurston. Like Mr. Galsworthy's book, *Katherine* is founded upon a discordant marriage, a young wife who craves pleasure and freedom and a far larger share of her husband's time and attention than she has a right to expect from a man who is already a power in English politics. It looks at first as though the story were nothing more important than a study of how a vain and frivolous young woman consoles herself for the fancied neglect of a busy and ambitious husband. But all of a sudden, Mr. Thurston takes it out of the class to which it apparently belonged, and cloaks it with the dignity of a grave psychological problem. Supposing, he asks, that a woman knows definitely that she has only a limited number of months left to live, barely a year more in which to snatch from life the happiness, the love, the devotion that have hitherto eluded her—will duty and honor mean the same to her as formerly, when she looked forward to all the possibilities that a long lifetime promises? Or will she not rather throw principle aside, and seize the fleeting joy that is offered her? Mr. Thurston's Katherine is placed in just this position. According to her physician's diagnosis, she has an insidious, incurable malady, and her days are numbered with a grim definiteness. There is, of course, the inevitable Other Man ready to pay the hundred little attentions that the busy husband, harassed by loyal service to his country, cannot find time to perform. The problem is worked out with a clear-sighted understanding of mood and temperament that stamps the novel as one

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that really counts, in spite of the author's concession to the supposed popular demand for a happy ending, and the heroine's ultimate recovery and reconciliation with her husband—all of which was done long ago by Miss Edgeworth in *Belinda,* and done much more convincingly.

Sister Carrie

Another book which deserves a brief word of commendation is *Sister Carrie,* by Theodore Dreiser, which the London *Athenæum* placed pretty accurately by assigning it to the same shelf as Zola's *Nana.* When and how *Sister Carrie* came to be written, why it was virtually suppressed in this country almost as soon as published and how it happens to be reissued now, after a lapse of seven years, are a series of interesting questions in the secret history of book publishing. But they have no bearing upon the merits of the story, which for all practical purposes comes before the reading public for the first time. It is an unpretentious book, written without any effort after style, but with a downright sincerity that compels attention. It is simply the history of a young girl who comes to Chicago from a country village, intent on earning her own living, finds the toil too hard, the companionship of her fellow-workers too coarse, and inevitably drifts along the way of least resistance into that Half-World which Anglo-Saxon fiction for the most part chooses to ignore. Some critics have chosen to quarrel with Mr. Dreiser's choice of title; and in a way it is misleading. Yet it was presumably selected for its symbolic sense, as a reminder of the ties of blood between the Carries of this world and their more fortunate sisters, a reminder that we are our sisters' as well as our brothers' keepers. There are two reasons why *Sister Carrie* is a book to be recommended in spite of its boldness of theme. First of all, for the sake of its truthfulness, the frankness of its portrayal of a widespread type: the good-natured, yielding, pleasure-loving type of woman, not emotional, not capable of deep feeling, essentially selfish at heart, who finds it easiest to accept the good things of life as they offer themselves, quite indifferent as to who shall pay for them. And secondly it is a pitiless, unsparing portrayal of a man's ruin. The history of Hurstwood, from the first hour of his meeting with Carrie to the final moment when he turns on the flow of gas in an East Side lodging house and lies down to await oblivion, is fiction of a grim, compelling force that has the value of many sermons. It is the story so often repeated in life, so rarely frankly told in novels, of the man carried away by a foolish passion, and a woman thinking only of herself, her vanity, her ultimate glorification. When Hurstwood has sacrificed for her sake his social and financial standing, his prospects and his honor, and has

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lost his self-respect and with it his grip upon life, you can see the moral and physical disintegration of the man, from day to day, see his clothes wear shiny, the seams fray out, the buttons fall away—symbols of the permanent wreck of the man's own self-esteem. And over the shoulders of this human wreck, Sister Carrie climbs into public favor, to a brief span of tinsel glory before the footlights, yet finding even in the midst of her triumphs that there is something, she scarce knows what, some indefinable, vital thing, the lack of which robs life of its savor.

The Whirlwind

Mr. Dreiser teaches his lesson by fearlessly telling the truth. Eden Phillpotts, in his latest volume, *The Whirlwind,* attempts to put a halo of self-sacrifice around a woman's frailty, and the result is one of the most unconvincing stories he ever wrote. There is the usual stage setting of Dartmoor landscape, with its misty sunshine and soft, slanting rain, and the usual gathering of typical Dartmoor peasantry, with their quaint speech and their primitive customs and beliefs. But there are just three persons with whom the story is immediately concerned, who may be conveniently denoted as the Master, the Man and the Man's Wife. Imagine a splendid specimen of primitive manhood, with the rugged muscles of a giant, but intellectually slow, both in thought and speech. And the woman is physically a mate for him; he is the one man for her, without him life would be empty, profitless, unthinkable. But in mind she is the more alert; she lacks her husband's abiding faith in religion, his acceptance of the existing social law and order; she has a restless, inquiring nature, easily misled by specious reasoning. And so, when her husband's master, a strong, unscrupulous mind in a sickly, feeble body, foredoomed to an early death, sees and covets her, she finds no difficulty in reconciling duty with dishonor. With almost brutal directness the master makes his proposition: he has a scant span of life remaining; she is the one woman in the world who can bring joy into these last months; if she will, then all his wealth, his acre upon acre of rolling Dartmoor land, shall be her husband's; and the why and wherefore her husband need never know. As already said, the weak point in an otherwise vigorous story is the attempt to surround a bargain of dishonor with an aureole of martyrdom, to make us believe that the wife's love remained untarnished, and that she believed that the lands she was winning for her husband justified her disloyalty. And not even her final tragic awakening and atonement quite redeems the book from its inherent weakness.

Norman Duncan is one of the few American novelists of the younger

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generation who are to be seriously reckoned with. In his latest volume, *The Cruise of the "Shining Light,"* he shows, as never before, his kinship, on the one hand with Eden Phillpotts, on the other with a greater master than either, Joseph Conrad. What Mr. Phillpotts has done for Dartmoor, Mr. Duncan is doing for Newfoundland, for its primitive people, its rugged, storm-swept coast, its daily changing miracles of sea and sky. But in his handling of plot, in his ability to give a sense of mystery; a suggestion of dim, unrevealed vistas, down which the reader has only fitful, intermittent glimpses; a pervading impression that the people he shows us have strange, bizarre, uncanny pasts, full of wild and lawless deeds, he often suggests comparison with Mr. Conrad's greatest achievement, *Nostromo*. And yet it would be doing an injustice to *The Cruise of the "Shining Light"* to give the impression that it was anything else than an intensely human story, full of simple kindness and warm-hearted affection. A small boy, reared in the school of Chesterfieldian manners, by a drunken, profane old seaman, a piratical blackmailer to boot, yet the kindest, tenderest old soul that ever stamped through life on a wooden leg; such is in the main the substance of this curious and paradoxical volume. Why Uncle Nick reared Dannie in a luxury out of all keeping with his birth and station, is only a degree less of a mystery than why Uncle Nick himself shudderingly refuses to share in it, cursing himself for a miserable sinner, and darkly implying that every penny of the money he squanders on Dannie is the price of a human soul. The explanation when it comes is simple enough; and yet there is no effect of exaggeration, nothing lurid or melodramatic in the manner of telling—merely a lasting impression of having witnessed the writhings of a very simple and well-meaning human soul, caught in the toils of a problem too big to solve unaided. And this only touches upon one aspect of this many-sided book. No mention of it would be adequate that left out of consideration the idyl of Dannie and Judith, an idyl that began in childhood, that strengthened with their strength, and throughout its course stirs the reader to smiles that have in them the tenderness of tears. Unquestionably *The Cruise of the "Shining Light"* is an achievement that marks a long forward stride in Mr. Duncan's career.

The Cruise of the "Shining Light"

There is one more volume which it seems worth while to include in this brief list of recent books of some merit, because it gave the present writer a more than usual degree of pleasure — *Fanshawe of the Fifth,* by Ashton Hilliers. Yet this is more than usually a matter of personal taste, and even to some

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degree a matter of the passing mood. *Fanshawe of the Fifth* is what might be conveniently called a reversion to type, a literary atavism. It is not merely a story of Eighteenth Century England, but it is an Eighteenth Century story, in form and style; a story that is not quite like anything by Fielding or Smollett or Sterne, and yet shows the influence of each of the three in turn. It is a detailed picture of English life in the Napoleonic days; yet it is not a story of warfare, for although the hero at the start is an officer in the Fifth Dragoons, his career is ingloriously cut short, through no fault of his, and he finds himself not only without his commission, his horse and sword, but disinherited besides, and under the necessity of earning his daily bread by any chance labor that English field and village afforded. The structure of the story is of the simplest; but the style is ever possessed of a certain quaint charm, all the more grateful in these days of strenuous haste, because it is throughout so leisurely. The author seems never so pressed for time that he cannot digress in picaresque fashion, to weave in some extraneous tale, or stand and watch a well-contested fight, a hard-earned race. Indeed, the story is throughout subordinated to the panorama of life all the time unfolding in the background. Fanshawe himself is a not unworthy hero; but what interests you chiefly is the sense you get of having for the time being looked back upon the changing stream of human activity, as it swept along the highways and byways of rural England a century ago. But to be enjoyed, it is a book that must be read at leisure, and when you are in a congenial mood. *Frederic Taber Cooper.*

Fanshawe of the Fifth

LILACS IN THE CITY

BY BRIAN HOOKER

AMID the rush and fever of the street,
The snarl and clash of countless quarrelling bells,
And the sick heavy heat,
The hissing footsteps, and the hateful smells,
I found you, speaking quietly
Of sunlit hill-horizons and clean earth;
While the pale multitude that may not dare
To pause and live a moment, lest they die,
Swarmed onward with hot eyes, and left you there—
An armful of God's glory, nothing worth.

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You are more beautiful than I can know.
  Even one loving you might look an hour
Nor learn the perfect flow
  Of line and tint in one small, purple flower.
There are no two of you the same,
And every one is wonderful and new—
  Poor baby-blossoms that have died unblown,
And you that droop yourselves as if for shame,
  You too are perfect. I had hardly known
The grace of your glad sisters but for you.

You myriad of little litanies!
  Not as our bitter piety, subdued
To cold creed that denies
  Or lying law that severs glad and good;
But like a child's eyes, after sleep
  Uplifted; like a girl's first wordless prayer
  Close-held by him who loves her—no distress
Nor storm of supplication, but a deep,
  Dear heart-ache of such utter happiness
As only utter purity can bear.

For you are all the robin feels at dawn,
  The meaning of green dimness, and calm noons
On high fields far withdrawn,
  Where the haze glimmers and the wild bee croons.
You are the soul of a June night:—
  Intimate joy of moon-swept vale and glade,
Warm fragrance breathing upward from the ground,
  And eager winds tremulous with sharp delight
Till all the tense-tuned gloom thrills like a sound—
  Mystery of sweet passion unafraid.

O sweet, sweet, sweet! you are the proof of all
  That over-truth our dreams have memory of
That day cannot recall:
  Work without weariness, and tearless love,
And taintless laughter. While we run
  To measure dust, and sounding names are hurled
Into the nothingness of days unborn,
  You hold your little hearts up to the sun,
Quietly beautiful amid our scorn—
  God's answer to the wisdom of this world.

Brian Hooker.

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SPECIAL ARTICLES

THE REORGANIZED AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE AS A CAREER

BY JOHN BALL OSBORNE

THEORETICALLY every good citizen is interested in the betterment of the American consular service; but, as a matter of fact, the average man, unless his personal interests are in some way affected, is strangely indifferent. Our manufacturers and exporters, however, are concerned on account of their foreign business; lawyers with international suits, for the same reason; American tourists, for the sake of personal convenience; and lastly, but not least numerically, the great army of place-hunters, from the defeated Congressman down to the callow youth, fresh from college, who aspires to a consulship as the easiest and pleasantest method of solving the increasingly troublesome problem of a livelihood.

It is gradually dawning upon the consciousness of all these classes of the public how radical a change for the better has been effected in the consular system as the result of the enactment of the Reorganization Act of April 5, 1906, and the promulgation of the scarcely less important Executive Order of June 27, 1906, and the regulations of the Department of State based thereon.

All these changes, which mark an epoch in consular history, are due, in largest measure, to the inspiration and forceful advocacy of Secretary Root. First the Morgan Bill, introduced in the Senate in 1884; then its successor the Lodge Bill, providing competitive examination for admission to the service; and the Adams Bill in the House, contemplating a reorganization commission of Senators and Representatives, rallied the support of the affiliated chambers of commerce and gained many earnest advocates in Congress. But none of these measures had the good fortune to be championed by a personality sufficiently convincing and powerful to break down all old prejudices and overcome the *vis inertiæ* in legislative circles, carrying it triumphantly through both Houses of Congress.

When Mr. Root took up his duties as Secretary of State in the summer of 1905, one of the first matters that attracted his attention was the obsolete character of the consular system, especially its defects as a vital and essential factor in American trade development. The tenure of

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office was almost equally unstable in the case of good and poor consuls, and there was no system for making promotions on the basis of merit. Elderly men who had failed in life and whose friends had to find some way to support them were constantly being appointed to the most important positions in the service over the heads of men who had done good work. The salaries were unevenly adjusted and, for the most part, inadequate. Many consuls resorted to questionable methods of increasing their official income, and the fee system was the subject of grave abuse.

It is, however, little short of wonderful how our consular service managed so well to worry along and work out its own destinies without the aid of more legislation affecting the system itself than was enacted by Congress from 1789 to 1906. During that period of 117 years only two acts of much consequence were passed; these were the Act of April 14, 1792, which defined the duties and privileges of consular officers, and the Act of August 18, 1856, which reorganized the system and placed it upon a basis that remained practically unchanged until 1906.

The system provided by the law of 1856 was satisfactory in its day, but as the service expanded in response to the commercial demands of the country it revealed a woful lack of elasticity and adaptability to the new conditions. Speaking of the lack of systematic treatment for which the consular service suffered since the great increase in our foreign trade, Secretary Root aptly remarked to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs that it was in something the same condition that a village law office would be in if a big city practice were dumped down on it without any organization to deal with it. Nevertheless, the system as regulated by the law of 1856 was endured without important modification for exactly fifty years.

With the prodigious energy and enthusiasm for work that have always characterized him, Secretary Root set about to correct this situation. After carefully examining and comparing the various reorganization bills that had been introduced in Congress in the preceding decade, and applying thereto the information and experience gained by himself in the State Department, he drafted, in collaboration with Senator Lodge, whose experience as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations was of great value, an entirely new bill, which, in the words of a memorandum presented in the Senate, sought "to apply the practical remedies suggested by the experience of Congress and of the Department of State to the defects in our consular service which have long been recognized and discussed by the great business associations of the United States."

This bill "To provide for the Reorganization of the Consular Ser-

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vice of the United States" was introduced in the Senate by Mr. Lodge on December 11, 1905, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. It was reported by Mr. Lodge on January 10, 1906, with several amendments, most important of which was the omission of the several sections relative to the establishment of a board of examiners, the holding of examinations to fill vacancies in the lowest grades, and the making of appointments to the higher grades by promotion only. These excellent so-called civil-service features were stricken out by the committee chiefly for the reason that it believed that their enactment by Congress would appear to be an infringement upon the Constitutional power of the President to appoint consuls, such officers being specifically enumerated in the Constitution.

The bill was passed by the Senate on January 30th, without further material change, and went to the House of Representatives, where it was reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs by the late Representative Adams of Pennsylvania, with additional amendments, none of which, however, was of much consequence, excepting the omission of the paragraph that provided for transfer by the President's order of consuls-general and consuls from one place to another in the same grade. After brief debate, the bill was passed by the House and received the approval of the President on April 5, 1906. The following is a concise summary of the provisions of this important law.

Section 2 classified and graded the consuls-general and consuls, besides fixing the salaries of each class, as shown in the following table:

Consuls-general (London and Paris).			Consuls (Liverpool).		
		No.			No.
Class 1	$12,000	2	Class 1	$8,000	1
" 2	8,000	6	" 2	6,000	1
" 3	6,000	8	" 3	5,000	8
" 4	5,500	11	" 4	4,500	12
" 5	4,500	18	" 5	4,000	21
" 6	3,500	9	" 6	3,500	32
" 7	3,000	3	" 7	3,000	47
			" 8	2,500	61
			" 9	2,000	70
Total		57			253

" Consuls-general and consuls=310.

The above-mentioned salaries, which were fixed on the basis of official income from former salaries and unofficial fees combined, constitute the total compensation of the respective incumbents. They are reasonably adequate and equitably adjusted according to relative importance of the

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different stations and the cost of living. In a few instances, however, the officers do not fare so well as formerly; for example, London, with a salary of $10,000, in the last fiscal year paid the consul-general $17,157, which means an annual loss to him under the new law of more than $5,000; similarly, Paris netted $16,143, of which $10,000 represented the salary, thus indicating a decrease of more than $4,000. On the other hand, Liverpool, of the highest class of consulates, yielded $7,976, of which the salary was $5,000, while it now pays $8,000, a slight gain. Here are a few of the consulates that will profit materially under the new law:

	Total Income Fiscal Year 1905-6.	Present Salary.
Aden, Arabia	$1,639	$2,500
Alexandretta, Syria	1,754	2,500
Bagdad, Turkey	697	2,000
Batum, Russia	908	2,500
Harput, Turkey	1,684	3,000
Iquique, Chile	920	2,000
La Paz, Mexico	251	2,000
Madrid, Spain	748	2,500
Puerto Plata, Dom. Rep	927	2,000
Saigon, Cochin China	841	2,000
Seoul, Korea	1,715	5,500
Stavanger, Norway	1,149	2,000
Suva, Fiji Islands	12.50	2,000
Tahiti, Society Islands	1,044	2,000
Tuxpam, Mexico	376	2,000
Warsaw, Russia	622	2,000

Section 3 empowers the President to designate consuls to act temporarily, not exceeding one year, as vice and deputy consuls-general or consuls, without change of their classification. It also abolishes the grade of commercial agent.

Section 4 provides a system of regular inspection of consulates. The President is authorized to appoint five inspectors, from the members of the consular force possessing the requisite qualifications of experience and ability, to be designated as consuls-general at large, who shall receive an annual salary of $5,000, besides travelling and subsistence expenses. Each consular office is to be inspected at least once in every two years, and report made to the Secretary of State. Whenever the business of an office is not properly conducted, the President may authorize any consul-general at large to suspend the incumbent and administer the office in his stead for a period not exceeding ninety days, with power to suspend any subordinate officer or clerk in said office during the period aforesaid.[1]

[1] The five consuls-general at large contemplated by this law, whose appoint-

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SECTION 5. No person who is not an American citizen shall be appointed hereafter in any consulate-general or consulate to any clerical position the salary of which is $1,000 a year or more.

This does not refer to the thirteen "consular clerks," who are appointed by the President and hold office during good behavior, enjoying virtually life tenure; but to clerks employed at the various consular offices and appointed upon nomination of the principal consular officer, although the Department exercises the right to make independent appointments whenever that course is for the best interests of the service. Some of these clerks receive as much as $1,500 a year as compensation, and the new law, therefore, opens up splendid opportunities for the right sort of very young men who are willing to accept clerkships in consulates at $1,000 or so and work hard at keeping books, writing letters, making out authentications of invoices, recording correspondence, and other routine work, with a view to qualifying themselves to pass an examination later for a consulship. Several fine young Americans, inspired by this laudable ambition, have recently been sent out as clerks at consulates in different parts of the world.

Section 6. The provisions of the Revised Statutes forbidding consular officers whose salaries exceed $1,000 a year from engaging in trade are extended to include the practice of law or sharing in the fees or compensation of any lawyer, thus correcting what was formerly a serious abuse in the service.

Section 7. Every consular officer is required, on application, to perform notarial acts, charging therefor the appropriate fees prescribed by the President.

Section 8 effects a very important reform; it provides that "all fees, official or unofficial, received by any officer in the consular service for services rendered in connection with the duties of his office or as a consular officer, including fees for notarial services," etc., shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury, thus making the salaries fixed by law the "sole and only compensation" of such officers. This does not apply to consular agents, who shall continue to be paid by one half the fees received up to a maximum of $1,000 a year. The former method of compensating vice and deputy consular officers by clerical salary or, when in charge, by a portion of the salaries of the consul-general or consul for whom they act, is also continued.

In Section 9 the President is authorized to fix the fees for the authen-

ments took effect July 1, 1906, are Charles M. Dickinson, Richard M. Bartleman, Horace Lee Washington, George H. Murphy, and Fleming D. Cheshire—all with long and creditable records in the consular service.

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tication of invoices, as well as all other fees. This will permit of the grading of invoice fees according to the amount of the invoice, instead of the former uniform fee of $2.50.

Section 10 provides that the amount of the fee charged shall be indicated on every document issued by a consular officer by means of adhesive stamps furnished to him for the purpose.

In accordance with Section 11, the act went into effect on June 30, 1906.

As already stated, the so-called civil-service features of the bill were stricken out at an early stage of its legislative career, largely upon Constitutional grounds, and hence the measure as enacted was somewhat disappointing to those who had labored long and earnestly for the application of the principles of the merit system to the consular service. But while the business interests of the country were deploring this omission and planning to urge upon Congress at a later date acceptance of the rejected provisions, the resourcefulness of the Secretary of State found a way to accomplish practically the same result through executive action, without encountering Constitutional objections.

Mr. Root drafted and submitted to the President an Executive Order extending the system commonly called the merit system of the civil service to the consular service, incorporating therein the identical provisions that had been dropped out of the Reorganization bill. This Order met the hearty approval of President Roosevelt, who promulgated it on June 27, 1906, putting it into effect July 1, 1906, simultaneously with the Reorganization Act.

The several paragraphs of this admirable Executive Order are quoted below, with explanatory comments by myself, as well as reference to the departmental regulations governing examinations adopted in consequence of the Order.

Whereas, The Congress, by Section 1753 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, has provided as follows:

"The President is authorized to prescribe such regulations for the admission of persons into the civil service of the United States as may best promote the efficiency thereof, and ascertain the fitness of each candidate in respect to age, health, character, knowledge, and ability for the branch of service into which he seeks to enter; and for this purpose he may employ suitable persons to conduct such inquiries, and may prescribe their duties, and establish regulations for the conduct of persons who may receive appointments in the civil service."

And, whereas, the Congress has classified and graded the consuls-general and consuls of the United States by the act entitled "An act to provide for the re-organization of the consular service of the United States," approved April 5, 1906, and has thereby made it practicable to extend to that branch of the civil

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service the aforesaid provisions of the Revised Statutes and the principles embodied in the Civil Service Act of January 16, 1883.

Now, therefore, in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by the Constitution and laws of the United States, the President makes the following regulations to govern the selection of consuls-general and consuls in the civil service of the United States, subject always to the advice and consent of the Senate:

It is of interest to note that the language of the foregoing preamble and operative clause is such as might be used by the President in extending the principles of the Civil Service law of 1883 to any branch of the executive departments of the national Government where not previously applicable, with the single exception of the clause "subject always to the advice and consent of the Senate," which reservation is, of course, necessitated by the Constitution.

1. Vacancies in the office of consul-general and in the office of consul above class 8 shall be filled by promotion from the lower grades of the consular service, based upon ability and efficiency as shown in the service.

The effect of this rule is to restrict appointments of all consuls-general and consuls above class 8 to officers already in the service by promotion for merit, leaving only the vacancies arising in class 8 ($2,500) and class 9 ($2,000) to be filled by the appointment of subordinate consular officers or outsiders after examinations, as appears by the following paragraph:

2. Vacancies in the office of consul of class 8 and of consul of class 9 shall be filled:

(*a*) By promotion on the basis of ability and efficiency as shown in the service, of consular clerks, and of vice-consuls, deputy consuls, and consular agents who shall have been appointed to such offices upon examination.[1]

(*b*) By new appointments of candidates who have passed a satisfactory examination for appointment as consul as hereafter provided.

The provision for the promotion of subordinate consular officers was not in the bill at any stage; it opens a door of hope that has hitherto been practically closed, and will surely have an excellent influence upon the work of those subordinates.

3. Persons in the service of the Department of State with salaries of $2,000 or upward shall be eligible for promotion, on the basis of ability and efficiency as shown in the service, to any grade of the consular service above class 8 of consuls.

This provision is also new; it affects, according to the present salary list of the Department (fiscal year 1907), fifteen persons below the rank of Third Assistant Secretary, including eight chiefs of bureau.

[1] By amendatory executive order of December 12, 1906, student interpreters are included in this category on same footing as vice-consuls, etc.

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4. The Secretary of State, or such officer of the Department of State as the President shall designate, the Chief of the Consular Bureau, and the Chief Examiner of the Civil Service Commission, or some person whom said Commission shall designate, shall constitute a Board of Examiners for admission to the consular service.

The first Board of Examiners under the Act is composed of Mr. Huntington Wilson, Third Assistant Secretary of State; Mr. Wilbur J. Carr,[1] Chief of the Consular Bureau; and Mr. F. M. Kiggins, Chief Examiner of the Civil Service Commission.

5. It shall be the duty of the Board of Examiners to formulate rules for and hold examinations of applicants for admission to the consular service.

In pursuance of the foregoing regulation the Board of Examiners has formulated a series of rules to govern the examinations; the first of these is as follows:

1. The examinations will be the same for all grades and will be to determine a candidate's eligibility for appointment in the consular service, irrespective of the grade for which he may have been designated for examination, and without regard to any particular office for which he may be selected.

Continuing, the Executive Order reads:

6. The scope and method of the examinations shall be determined by the Board of Examiners, but among the subjects shall be included at least one modern language other than English; the natural, industrial, and commercial resources and the commerce of the United States, especially with reference to the possibilities of increasing and extending the trade of the United States with foreign countries; political economy; elements of international, commercial, and maritime law.

The details of the scope and method of the examinations have been formulated by the Board as follows:

2. The examinations will consist of an oral and a written one, the two counting equally. The object of the oral examination will be to determine the candidate's business ability, alertness, general contemporary information, and natural fitness for the service, including moral, mental, and physical qualifications, character, address, and general education and good command of English. In this part of the examination the applications previously filed will be given due weight by the Board of Examiners, especially as evidence of the applicant's business experience and ability. The written examination will include those subjects mentioned in the Executive order, to wit, French, German, or Spanish, or at least one modern language other than English; the natural, industrial, and commercial resources and the commerce of the United States, especially with reference to possibilities of increasing and extending the foreign trade of the United States; political economy, and the elements of international, commercial, and maritime law. It will likewise include American history, government, and institutions; political and

[1] Mr. Carr was subsequently appointed Chief Clerk of the Department of State.

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commercial geography; arithmetic (as used in commercial statistics, tariff calculations, exchange, accounts, etc.); the modern history, since 1850, of Europe, Latin America, and the Far East, with particular attention to political, commercial, and economic tendencies. In the written examination, composition, grammar, punctuation, spelling, and writing will be given attention.

The Executive Order continues:

7. Examination papers shall be rated on a scale of 100, and no person rated at less than 80 shall be eligible for certification.

The Board of Examiners has elaborated the foregoing rule as follows:

5. Upon the conclusion of the examinations the names of the candidates who shall have attained upon the whole examination an average mark of at least 80, as required by the Executive order, will be certified by the Board to the Secretary of State as eligible for appointment in the consular service, and the successful candidates will be informed that this has been done.

It is to be noted that the passing mark for the entrance into civil service in this country is seventy on a scale of one hundred, excepting that honorably discharged war veterans become eligible on attaining a mark of sixty-five and take precedence over all others.

8. No one shall be examined who is under twenty-one or over fifty years of age, or who is not a citizen of the United States, or who is not of good character and habits and physically and mentally qualified for the proper performance of consular work, or who has not been specially designated by the President for appointment to the consular service subject to examination.

The age limit in the original bill was forty years; the justice of extending it to fifty years will be generally recognized, inasmuch as the average man while in the forties has still the capacity and energy requisite to learn a new business; but, as a rule, once in the fifties it is otherwise.

9. Whenever a vacancy shall occur in the eighth or ninth class of consuls which the President may deem it expedient to fill, the Secretary of State shall inform the Board of Examiners, who shall certify to him the list of those persons eligible for appointment, accompanying the certificate with a detailed report showing the qualifications, as revealed by examination, of the persons so certified. If it be desired to fill a vacancy in a consulate in a country in which the United States exercises extra-territorial jurisdiction, the Secretary of State shall so inform the Board of Examiners, who shall include in the list of names certified by it only such persons as have passed the examination provided for in this order, and who also have passed an examination in the fundamental principles of the common law, the rules of evidence, and the trial of civil and criminal cases. The list of names which the Board of Examiners shall certify shall be sent to the President for his information.

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The following rules adopted by the Board have application to the last-quoted paragraph of the Executive Order:

3. To become eligible for appointment, except as student interpreter, in a country where the United States exercises extra-territorial jurisdiction, the applicant must pass the examination outlined above, but supplemented by questions to determine his knowledge of the fundamental principles of common law, the rules of evidence, and the trial of civil and criminal cases.

6. The names of candidates will remain on the eligible list for two years, except in the case of such candidates as shall within that period be appointed or shall withdraw their names. Names which have been on the eligible list for two years will be dropped therefrom and the candidates concerned will not again be eligible for appointment unless upon fresh application, designation anew for examination, and the successful passing of such second examination.

The Executive Order further provides:

10. No promotion shall be made except for efficiency, as shown by the work that the officer has accomplished, the ability, promptness, and diligence displayed by him in the performance of all his official duties, his conduct, and his fitness for the consular service.

The foregoing rule is aimed to give effectiveness to the permanent efficiency record of consular officers of all grades, made up from all sources of information available to the Department. The establishment of this record in the Department of State was one of the early acts of Secretary Root, whose experience at the head of the War Department convinced him of its need. Every officer in the consular service, principal as well as subordinate, was notified that the ability, promptness, and diligence displayed by him in the performance of all his official duties, his conduct while in office, and the character of his reports upon the trade relations of the United States, would be considered as proper elements in the determination of his relative efficiency, and that this record would be consulted by the Secretary of State and be brought by him to the attention of the President in determining questions as to retention in office, transfers, and promotions.

It requires no argument to demonstrate the salutary influence upon the entire service of this new administrative feature, which was in operation several months before the Reorganization Act went into effect. Prior to the establishment of efficiency records the Department made practically no effort to preserve evidence of meritorious service on the part of consular officers, and hence good work frequently went unrewarded. Under the present system a consular officer has every reasonable incentive for making a record for efficiency, inasmuch as that record is no longer written on the sands of one administration only to be washed away by the next political tide.

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The final paragraphs of the Executive Order provide as follows:

11. It shall be the duty of the Board of Examiners to formulate rules for and hold examinations of persons designated for appointment as consular clerk, and of such persons designated for appointment as vice-consul, deputy consul, and consular agent, as shall desire to become eligible for promotion.[1] The scope and method of such examination shall be determined by the Board of Examiners, but it shall include the same subjects hereinbefore prescribed for the examination of consuls. Any vice-consul, deputy consul, or consular agent now in the service, upon passing such an examination shall become eligible for promotion, as if appointed upon such examination.

12. In designations for appointment subject to examination and in appointments after examination, due regard will be had to the rule, that as between candidates of equal merit, appointments should be so made as to secure proportional representation of all the States and Territories in the consular service; and neither in the designation for examination or certification or appointment will the political affiliations of the candidate be considered.

The last rule represents a highly laudable effort to divorce appointments to the consular service from the domain of partisan politics. While no such provisions were contained in the original bill, the policy above outlined has always been favored, and, so far as practicable, acted upon by the present administration.

It will be perceived that the Executive Order quoted and discussed above has established, as fully as is possible by administrative action and declaration of executive policy, a rational merit system in the consular service of the United States, providing for original appointment to the lower grades only upon searching examination of the candidates, and promotion from grade to grade only as a reward for efficient and faithful service. So far as one administration can guarantee it, the tenure of all worthy consuls has been made secure and stable; that is, as permanent as the tenure of any Government office should be. I see no reason to doubt, for example, that the tenure of every capable, industrious, and efficient consul is now as stable as that of the average division chief in the executive departments at Washington, who is protected against political vicissitudes by the merit principles of the Civil Service Law and Regulations.

In the development of the merit system in the executive branches of the national Government there has been no retrograde step since the time of Pendleton. That system has eliminated absolutely the question of partisanship, and has steadily grown in popular favor; the press has only unqualified commendation for it, while it is now rarely attacked in Congress. It will be the same with the reorganized consular service;

[1] Student interpreters are included in this category by Executive order of December 12, 1906.

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for the public sentiment, now so thoroughly aroused and crystallized through the efforts of the great business interests of the country, would never sanction the nullification by a future administration of the substantial reforms recently introduced by President Roosevelt.

In fact, many prominent members of both Houses of Congress have voluntarily indorsed these measures of reform, and there is a growing sentiment in favor of further solidifying them by the early enactment of a law that shall embody the essential features of the Executive Order of June 27, 1906. To this end Senator Lodge, on January 3, 1907, introduced a "Bill to improve the Consular Service," providing as follows:

That vacancies in the office of consul-general and in the office of consul above class 8 shall be filled by promotion from the members of the lower classes of consuls-general or consuls, on the basis of ability and efficiency as shown in the service: Provided, That persons in the service of the Department of State with salaries of $2,000 or upward shall be deemed eligible for promotion in the consular service equally with consuls having like salaries.

SEC. 2. That no person shall be appointed a consul of class 8 or class 9 before he shall have reached the age of twenty-one years or after he shall have reached the age of forty years; nor until he shall have passed a satisfactory examination as to his moral, physical, and educational qualifications.

SEC. 3. That as between candidates of equal merit, appointments of consuls-general and consuls shall be so made as to secure proportional representation of all the States and Territories in the consular service.

This Bill was not acted upon by Congress.

In the whole history of the Government there never was a time when the President had better material from which to make consular appointments than is now offered in abundance. In the early days nearly all the posts were filled by foreigners, with a sprinkling of American missionaries and broken-down clergymen; for the precarious income by fees did not justify many *consules missi*.

About the middle of the last century a brilliant galaxy of literary men, some who had won fame and others on the eve of triumph, adorned the service; thus, Hawthorne at Liverpool, Donald Mitchell at Venice, John Howard Payne at Tunis, and, during the Civil War, Howells at Venice and Stillman at Rome. The Reorganization Act of 1856, with its salary system, attracted many defeated politicians and unsuccessful business men. Following the Civil War came a goodly company of gallant officers of the Union Army, among whom I recall Generals Badeau at London and Havana, Fairchild at Paris, Warner at St. Johns, N. B., Shaw at Toronto and Manchester, and Torbet at Paris and Havana. Later, in the eighties, when I entered the service, there was a

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marked increase in the number of lawyers, while still later the journalists came into evidence. Under the new régime I confidently believe that the day of the college man—particularly the young man specially educated for the consular service—has at last arrived.

The first examination under the Executive Order of June 27, 1906, was held at the Department of State on March 14th and 15th last. Of the 23 persons designated for examination by the President from States below their proportionate representation in the service, 18 appeared and were examined, with the result that 10 received the required mark of 80 and were duly certified as eligible for appointment. The ages of these eligibles range from 26 to 43, four being above 35 and three between 26 and 30. Six of the eligibles have had practical business experience and four have had professional or journalistic training. Seven of the successful candidates have already been appointed to places in the lower grades.

The second examination will take place on July 9th and 10th. About 250 persons have made application, of whom about 40 have already been designated, which number will probably be increased to about 50 before the date mentioned. Most of these candidates are under forty years of age and a goodly proportion have enjoyed the advantage of a college training.

Hereafter the consular service—always fascinating, even when most insecure and transitory as regards tenure of office—will offer a most attractive career to ambitious young men; a career scarcely second in point of assured rewards to the Army or Navy, and certainly infinitely more interesting than office-holding in almost any branch of Government service at home. The capable and worthy officer will have the strongest possible incentive to devote himself to the work of perfecting himself in his chosen career and faithfully serving the Government to the best of his ability, as well as fulfilling every duty enjoined by law or regulation toward his fellow-countrymen who are engaged in foreign trade or merely travelling abroad for pleasure, for he has it in his power so to shape his official conduct as to secure for himself at the Department of State an admirable record for efficiency, which, under the new system, will, when a question of retention in office or promotion arises, serve him to better advantage than all the political influence he might be able to summon to his aid.

Keeping abreast of these epoch-making changes, and, to some extent, anticipating them, several of our great universities have recently established departments for the special education of young men who desire to enter the consular (or diplomatic) service. Noteworthy as pioneers

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in this field of future usefulness are the courses of study offered by Yale, Columbia, Wisconsin, Illinois, George Washington, and Dartmouth. Unless there be a reasonable measure of stability of tenure in consular positions, it is manifestly a waste of time for a young man to attend such courses; but, in the light of recent developments above outlined, I believe that the faculties of the institutions named can conscientiously recommend to students—as they are actually doing—to prepare themselves systematically for a life career in the American consular service.

John Ball Osborne.

SCIENTIFIC AND ÆSTHETIC METHODS OF TEACHING LITERATURE

BY ALBERT SCHINZ

Professor of Romance Languages at Bryn Mawr College

ANOTHER academic year is completed; this is a proper time for the professor to pause and think of the work he has accomplished.

For some time the writer has felt like offering a little confession; yet, as it was a delicate matter, he hesitated; this year, however, he will speak. He has been giving one of the courses announced under his name in the programme "French Lyrics of the Nineteenth Century." He conducted the work according to strictly modern methods; some of the results have been rather embarrassing. For instance:

Lamartine had been taken up. Before reading *Le Lac* the students had been briefly told of the story of Elvire and Raphael on the shore of the Lake Bourget, in Savoy; of the poetic passion; of the journey to Paris; of the rendezvous arranged by the two seraphic lovers for the following season; of the illness and the death of Elvire, which put an end to the celestial dream. They knew enough to appreciate the poem, i.e., what the poet wanted to say and what he did say; thus the immortal song had been duly understood and admired. But then came the task of the professor: he proceeded to show how Lamartine had not received his first inspiration from the tragic events usually connected with *Le Lac*, but had carried within his mind, for a long time before, the idea of singing the despair of a lover; the death of Elvire had only been the experience which he needed, and which thus came in the nick of time, to carry out successfully his plans. It was shown by means of convincing documents that the first attempt to use this theme was made one day when, as a young officer, he was taking a solitary walk in the country and had taken off one of his boots to serve him as a desk upon which to write a

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first sketch of the *Lac* to be. This was long before he knew Elvire. The professor told further how the souvenir of two women were woven together in the heroine of *Le Lac;* how, soon after having written the poem, Lamartine married, and how a third woman was thus added to make up the Elvire, which kept hovering about the poet's mind in the *Nouvelles Méditations.* The effect of those scholarly remarks was, as one may easily surmise, to dispel the magic impression of the poem. The students who had come under the spell of the moving stanzas left the class-room with an ironical smile on their lips.

Some time later it was Victor Hugo's turn to be summoned before the tribunal of modern scholarship. If there are any poems in Hugo that are sincere and beautiful and do honor to the man who wrote them, they are the collection called *Pauca Meæ,* the poems of the *Contemplations* devoted to the memory of his eldest daughter, who after three months of marriage was drowned in a cruel accident near Havre, together with her young husband; the latter could have saved himself but refused to live without her. Those poems were read and the students seemed to understand easily the greatness of this sorrow; the idea never occurred to them that a man could bring in connection with those sincere cries of a grieved soul, anything that would be only for show or to increase the effect on the public; such a suggestion would have been generously rejected. But, behold, the demon of duty and pedantic scholarship again took hold of the professor; he mentioned some ungracious documents, the authenticity of which cannot possibly be doubted as they are in Victor Hugo's own hand and intrusted by himself to his late friend, Meurice. The students had remarked how touching it was that regularly, on each anniversary of the catastrophe, Victor Hugo, in visiting the grave of his child, found an inspiration for a new beautiful poem. Throughout the collection there is a perfect harmony between the dates of those poems and the events that suggested them. Well, the documents just quoted destroyed the legend. The harmony of feelings and dates exist in most cases only in the printed edition, while the manuscript tells another story: the emotions had been carefully tabulated not by the man, but by the poet shortly before going to press; some of the poems had not been written much before the date of issuing the book in 1856; and frivolous chansons like *Nous allions au verger cueillir des bigarreaux* or *La coccinelle* were of the same epoch as the dramatic *A Villequier* or *A celle qui est restée en France.*

Those changes of dates were not a great crime, but for those who know about it, some of the poetic effect is lost. One student could not help asking: "Why did you tell us?"

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Again a few weeks later Musset was read. Of course the romantic passion of the poet for George Sand was told in connection with the *Nuits* and the *Souvenir*. Could the professor, without risk of losing his reputation as an up-to-date man, fail to speak of the revelations made in 1904 at the time of the celebration of George Sand's centenary? Certainly not; so the students heard that Musset had seen Georges making love to Dr. Pagello in Venice:

Vu, vu, de ses yeux vu; ce que l'on appelle vu.

How could this fact not be detrimental to the effect of Musset's poems, that Georges succeeded in making him believe that he had only believed he had seen, just as in the story of the middle-age *fabliau?* A man like that deserves, one will almost feel like saying, to be deceived.

Moreover, how was it feasible for a professor at one of the best institutions of learning in the United States not to mention the observations of alienists regarding Musset's hallucinations which inspired the *Nuit de Décembre?* How could a man drawing a salary for telling the truth to his students avoid saying that the direct connection between Musset's poems and the Muses was not at all as easy to trace as that between liquid stimulants and the inspiration of his most pathetic and apparently most sincere songs?

There is no need of further illustrations. So it went to the end of the year; whenever some æsthetic impression had been gained, it was destroyed again by erudition. Could the professor help concluding that that erudition did perhaps as much harm as good in literature?

This will be considered a terrible paradox. And yet it seems that there is something manifestly wrong in modern methods. It seems as if we were living on a confusion of some sort, if not in overestimating the value of erudition, at least in putting it where it does not belong. It is a fact that we study literature as we would study a crystal, a frog, or radium. Now, of course, in sciences we wish to satisfy our intellectual curiosity; knowledge is the only aim, and sharpening of the intellect the result. But in literature we want to develop the mind in another direction, namely, not cultivating specially our intellect, but our sense for higher feelings, a taste for refined and noble emotions. If this is true, does it not seem *a priori* natural that an aim so different could hardly be expected to be brought about by the so-called scientific method which just makes it a point to remove all possible intrusion of emotion and feeling in its domain? In other words, literature is the domain of emotions and feelings based upon fiction. The poet must create by his imagination something which does not exist in real nature, and he does it so that we cannot help seeing the superiority of his suggestions over nature, we are

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pleased with it, we feel inclined to make it our own. For the special aim they are pursuing, i.e., to awake in man and develop a taste for more refined sentiments and emotions (by the way, they need not be moral only), the fictions of artists fulfil exactly the purpose which the experiments made by scientists are aiming at in their domain, namely, when they endeavor to discover the essence of phenomena. The works of artists must be explained to students from this æsthetic point of view, laying stress upon what emotions are suggested by some situation, not upon what is true or real. Even with realistic writers it is wrong to explain—as most people do—that their works interest us because they are faithful to nature; the author only starts from nature, but points elsewhere, showing, if it were only in a negative manner, that nature is insufficient, or even bad. The so-called "returns to nature" are only returns to a certain nature, namely, as conceived by the special author who speaks, but not natural nature. Or if something in nature is pointed out as beautiful, it represents only a selection of some exceptional element and certainly never means that everything in nature is admirable. We admire the spontaneity, the grace, the charm of childhood, but we do not consider it our duty to admire everything in children.

So to explain how an author wants to take us away from mere nature to the special domain of art (*ars = homo additus naturæ*) is the duty of a professor of literature, while questions as to how, where, when an artist wrote, or which author he knew who had treated the subject before him and might have suggested either plot or ideas, are of very secondary value—if of any value at all—for the understanding of literature as a discipline to train our emotional nature.

This brings us to the real cause of the misunderstanding under consideration. Literature, there is no doubt about it, can be studied from a scientific point of view as well as from an æsthetic point of view. Works of art are products of our brain as well as an hallucination or as a treaty on political economy; authors themselves are natural products just like a frog, a crystal, or radium. As such both the masterpiece and the author can be made the subject of scientific investigations, the interest of which is not inferior to those in any other domain; but such studies, fascinating as they may be, are no longer literature but psychology, or history, or even physiology. And now the point is this: the educational advantages—and we have limited to them our considerations in this paper—brought about by psychology, history, or physiology can be gained very well in studying those branches of human knowledge. It will interest me both as a psychologist and as a historian to discover the sources of Shakespeare's plays, but it will hardly help me to enjoy them

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more from the æsthetic standpoint. It is an enjoyment of an altogether different nature, but which does not blend with the other—about as a musician can appreciate the technique of a composition without enjoying the music; they are different enjoyments, the second having practically nothing to do with music. Now the trouble with us seems precisely to be this, that in our universities and colleges we are altogether given to literary documentation; the word literature in our programmes remains a mere pretext for psychology and history.

It might be worth while to inquire where this tendency to ignore æsthetics and lay all stress upon scholarship in literature comes from.

Three reasons chiefly will account for it.

Regarding the first we need not insist; it is the fascination of our age for the so-called scientific spirit which one finds at work everywhere, with the grocer who sells "scientifically" prepared breakfast food, and the druggist who offers "scientific" ice cream soda, as well as with the college professor who teaches "scientific" literature.

The second is that the æsthetic side of literature, to a great many who have to teach it, seems to be very difficult to grasp and to impart to students, while it is extremely easy to enumerate sources. It requires some work to collect the latter, and in some cases very keen insight to determine their exact relations to the piece under consideration; still a great part of it is clerical work. Take away from us the resources of literary documentation and many professors would feel very much embarrassed as to how to fill out their lecture hours. A proof that this view of the case is correct is found in the fact that so many professors devote their whole attention to mediæval literature and so few to modern literature. Mediæval literature is brimming with purely scholarly problems and comparatively little chance for literature considered from the æsthetic side, while in modern literature the proportions are reversed; the more one comes down to our time, the less there are scholarly problems connected with literature, but the field for really literary treatment gets more and more remunerative, and at the same time interesting, since we are naturally more interested in our own epoch than in others.

Perhaps the chief reason is that the poor results obtained by those who try to take the æsthetic side of literature by opposition with the scientific side do not seem to warrant the trouble. But would this not be due possibly to the method in use? Under the noble pretext of developing individuality, students are asked to pass a personal judgment or to formulate some personal impression regarding their reading. Very few people seem to realize that this judgment or this impression—if any value can be attributed to them—presupposes the thorough understanding

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of a poem or of a piece of prose. Does the understanding exist? That is the question. We must remember that one can follow the plot of a story, or of a drama, and enjoy them, and yet not see the real sense which the author meant to convey. Now surely every professor of literature has had innumerable occasions to find out that students as a rule do not understand what they read.

A nation that has the reputation of succeeding better than any other in forming the literary taste of its young people is France; and this success is undoubtedly due to the fact that the teaching staff there start precisely from this proposition: the student *does not* understand. They have a great many courses, university as well as college courses, given often by the most famous professors and critics, and who do not consider it at all below their dignity to spend a whole hour in simply explaining—not commenting upon—twenty lines perhaps of prose or poetry. The student is taught how to read. The *explication française,* as it is called, leaves no comparison unexplained, no image unrealized, no allusion unaccounted for, no word obscure. Every syllable, every letter is weighed, and strange as it may seem to us, in this minute study there is a fascination that one can only realize after a trial. The character and purpose of the piece are explained, the division of the material, the progression of thought, the dialectic force—everything is so analyzed that simply no possibility of misunderstanding or of not understanding is left. The student leaves the class-room each time with the agreeable feeling that he has solved a problem. If very little ground is covered, it is at least in a veritably profitable fashion. Compare a French lycée programme with an American college programme; glance over the list of books read by our student who has just taken his A.B., the amount of reading done is amazing, it is stupendous, it is incredible. And yet the results are not satisfactory. Suppose all that misunderstood, suppose only half of it misunderstood, or even a tenth—this is more than enough to spoil a man's mind for life. Fortunately in most cases it is not misunderstood, it is only not understood; the harm is not so great; still, think of the immense waste of time.

Let us come back to our starting-point. As long as literature is conceived of as a mental discipline of its own kind, as a subject of teaching different from a scientific subject, no scholarly comments are necessary, no revelations as to sources, or to methods of working on the part of the author, such as we have mentioned with regard to Lamartine, Hugo, and Musset,—nothing that might deter the student from getting at the meaning of the text, at the idea the poet wishes to convey. A man full of common sense, Voltaire, said one day, "La vertu même a ses limites"; re-

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garding the genuineness of the virtue of a university professor and of his enthusiasm for truth when he has a chance of making a little show of his scholarship, we would have some little doubt.

Some will protest no doubt in the name of science or of morality: This, they say, is deliberately deceiving the student; if a man makes us believe that he sings one woman and he actually sings three, we ought not to allow this poetic mormonism to deceive us; if an author does not tell the truth, if he puts down wrong dates, like Hugo, he ought to be exposed; if he finds inspiration in wine, his poems are to be despised. But this is not the question; a course in literature is not in psychology or in ethics. If the poet suggests to us beautiful feelings and emotions which will raise us above the natural level, this is all we can ask of him. We went to him to find them, why then reproach him if he has succeeded? Art is fiction, anyway. If in order to be good it had to be undistinguishable from reality, what would be the use of it? And if people want to be so particular about truth, why do they go to the theatre? Why do they admire pictures or statues?

Albert Schinz.

OUR RELATIONS WITH JAPAN

BY EDWIN MAXEY

Professor of International Law in the University of Nebraska

THE controversy between this country and Japan over the exclusion of Japanese children from the public schools of San Francisco must be regarded as a closed incident. And while there is no disposition upon either side to reopen the controversy, the present is not an inopportune time for taking a sort of inventory that will be valuable in case of future controversies. For it is not unreasonable to suppose that, even between the best of friends, controversies will arise. It is therefore fitting that we ask ourselves the question: Is there a sufficient basis for an enduring friendship between the two nations? Is there such a clash of interests as to overcome the traditional friendship?

True, there is not between the United States and Japan, as between the United States and England, a community of blood language and religion. There are none of these ties to unite the two nations. Yet those are not the only bonds by which nations may be held together. While they are by no means unimportant, it is entirely within the facts to say that they are becoming less important. It was but little over a century ago when the political policies of a State were controlled very largely by its religious beliefs. If the monarch were Catholic, he chose his allies from among Catholic countries, and if Protestant, from

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among Protestant countries. To-day England has among its allies Catholics, Buddhists and Mohammedans. The fact that the Sultan is the head of the Mohammedan religion has not prevented England from championing his cause against Russia. While the United States has from the standpoint of religion little in common with Russia, China or Japan, it has always pursued a policy of friendship toward them, however hostile certain of its individual citizens may have been toward the religions of those countries. The waning power of the Church over the State is shown in the triumph of separation in France and the majority in the House of Commons in favor of disestablishment in England. Except in a few fanatical countries foreign policies are not now determined by religious beliefs, and there is nothing to indicate a likelihood of a change in this respect.

The prejudices due to blood are far less strong than they once were and are constantly weakening. The old feeling which divided all into Greeks and barbarians has not entirely disappeared and probably never will, but, like all other prejudices and provincialisms, it does not flourish in the atmosphere of modern scientific thought. Such prejudices rest mainly upon ignorance. Hence it is fair to suppose that, in the future as in the past, improvements in the means of transportation and of communicating intelligence will, by enabling the peoples of different parts of the world and of different races to understand each other better, cause a decrease in racial prejudices.

A difference in language is not so great a barrier as it once was. The rapid increase in international trade is forcing each nation to learn more of the language as well as of the customs and industries of the others. The more important writings in each language are either translated into the others or furnish the inspiration for treatises in the others embodying substantially the same ideas. Thus the thoughts which determine national and international action are to a greater and greater extent becoming the common property of all nations, in spite of the differences in language.

While the lack of these bonds has been growing less important, the bond due to a community of interests has been growing stronger. Though commercial advantage is not the sole factor in determining national policies, it is nevertheless an important factor. That friendship between the United States and Japan is a decided commercial advantage to both can readily be concluded from a reference to the facts.

One of the great facts of recent decades is the unprecedented growth in international trade. And nowhere has this increase been more marked than in the trade between the United States and Japan. According to

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the Statistical Abstract, the value of the exports from the United States to Japan in 1865 was $41,913. From this insignificant sum the trade has grown until but forty years later the exports are valued at $57,719,-183. During the same period the value of imports has increased from $285,176 to $51,821,629. After allowing for the effect of war, this growth is certainly marvellous. Between 1895 and 1905 (the last year reported in the latest Statistical Abstract), the exports from the United States to Japan increased in value from $4,634,717 to $51,719,683 and the imports from $23,790,202 to $37,821,629. Thus during a single decade our exports to Japan increased over 1,000 per cent. and our imports over 100 per cent.

That this growth has not been due to accident, or to a series of accidents, will become evident by an inquiry into the causes which underlie it. The geographical location of the countries is such as to make trade between them easy. In this respect the United States has a decided advantage over the countries of Europe. The route across the Pacific is shorter, safer and hence cheaper than the Suez or Cape of Good Hope routes. The control of the Pacific route is in the hands of the United States by reason of its possession of the coaling stations and ports of call. When this trade is developed to the proportions which it must from the nature of the case attain, the significance of our possession of the string of islands between our coast and that of Asia will be appreciated by many who seem as yet to have no conception of it. The course of history has been determined largely by the possession of trade routes.

The difference in the commodities produced in the two countries is such as to make the United States and Japan trade allies, i.e., to make them seek to promote rather than to place obstacles in the way of trade with each other. To appreciate the truth of this we have but to glance at the staple products of the two countries. Japan produces raw silk cheaply, and though the United States has attempted it, the attempts have availed us nothing except to show that either our soil or climate, or both, are not adapted to the industry. We are therefore importing about ninety per cent. of the raw silk exported from Japan and making it into fabrics, instead of doing as we once did—purchasing those fabrics from Europe and paying for them with the products of our farms. We still pay for them with the products of our farms, but it is now simply the raw material that we pay for, and give to our own factories the opportunity of performing the processes which enhance its value instead of having the same done in European factories.

Tea is another staple of Japanese production which has never been raised profitably in the United States. So far as can be seen, American

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tea will remain a negligible quantity in the commerce of the world. It is therefore not at all surprising that the United States should take three fourths of the tea exported by Japan.

There are certain classes of works of art which the United States imports from Japan. These also are not, and for a long time will not be produced in the United States. The artistic temperament and abilities of a people are something which does not change rapidly. The whims of fashion may be ephemeral, but the ability to produce and the desire for artistic creations are far more constant.

As Japan is the available source from which the United States secures and will continue to secure the above classes of goods, there are certain other classes for the supply of which Japan looks and under normal conditions will look to the United States. Perhaps the most important of these is raw cotton. Cut off the supply of this staple and immediately one of the great industries of Japan is at a standstill. And such is the industrial organization of to-day that one industry cannot suffer without causing considerable demoralization in all other industries. During the period of hand industries the makers of iron would be affected but slightly by a shut-down among the makers of cloth. Each operative depended very largely upon his own capital. But under the factory system of to-day, let one industry be brought suddenly to a standstill and several of the banks that are furnishing money to manufacturers in that industry and others are forced to contract their loans and the stringency is felt all along the line. This is the mildest form which it can take. Not infrequently the shock causes several banks to break and confidence is so shaken that a financial panic results, and from the depressing, if not demoralizing, effects of financial panics no industry is exempt.

This dependence upon the United States of one of the great industries of Japan is a stronger guarantee of peace between the two nations than most of us appreciate. Japan is far too conservative a nation to enter lightly upon a war with the United States, knowing as she does that the consequences of such a war would be a suspension, if not destruction, of one of her industries, thereby threatening her whole industrial and financial organization. The danger of such losses and privations is too great a risk to run, except in self-defence. The mere prospect of enhanced military glory is not likely to appeal to Japan as being a commodity worth purchasing at such a price.

While the dependence of Japan upon the United States is less marked in other respects, there are nevertheless a number of commodities for which she is to a great degree dependent upon us. Most of the flour used in Japan is imported from the United States. Though there are other

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countries that produce flour, there are none of them that can compete successfully with the United States in the Japanese market. To be suddenly cut off from the American supply would therefore put the Japanese at a disadvantage with respect to this one of the necessaries of life.

What is true of flour is equally true of kerosene. Nearly all of the kerosene used in Japan comes from the United States. As yet the product of the Russian oil fields does not seem to have found its way into the Japanese market. This may be due to the fact that the freight rates over the Trans-Siberian Railway are not sufficiently low to enable the Russian shipper to compete with his American rival.

In locomotives, railway rails, and railway equipment in general, the United States is easily first of the competitors for Japanese contracts. This is due in part to our greater promptness in filling orders because of our resort to standard types and making hundreds according to the same pattern instead of waiting until an order is received and then drafting the plan according to which the locomotives, etc., in that order will be made, as is the custom in most European shops. Now that Japan has resolved to build railroads, which are indispensable to the development of Corea and southern Manchuria, her dependence upon the United States has in this respect increased very materially. Scarcely less pronounced is her dependence upon us for meat, structural iron, and machinery.

Among the marked tendencies of the last century has been the increasing influence of commercial considerations in determining the foreign policies of nations. Nor is there any convincing evidence that this tendency has reached its height. When we consider this in connection with the commercial relations of the two countries, we have an excellent basis for the conclusion that in the future, as in the past, the United States and Japan will continue to co-operate instead of foolishly casting aside the mutual advantages to be gained from a policy of friendly co-operation dictated by their geographical location and natural resources.

There is another force which cannot be left out of account, and that is the force of traditions. The United States is the first of the great nations of modern times with which Japan entered into diplomatic relations. From the opening of Japan by Commodore Perry to the present day, the diplomatic relations of Japan with the United States have been of the most friendly character. Japan has never distrusted the motives of the United States, but on the contrary has always looked to it for friendly advice and guidance. She has paid us the compliment of sending hundreds of her brightest youths to be educated in our institutions,

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of sending commissions to study our industrial organization, of celebrating the anniversary of the landing of Commodore Perry and erecting a monument to his memory, and of bringing to a close at our suggestion a war in which she was uniformly victorious. Nor has Japan forgotten that in her struggle for fair commercial treatment at the hands of Western nations and for ridding herself of the hateful handicap of consular jurisdiction, she received most valuable assistance from the United States. The confidence begotten of these years of close friendship and helpfulness is not to be shaken by the first gust of breezy criticism or by restrictions which are economically advantageous to Japan. Traditions, however friendly, may not be sufficient to outweigh national interests, but when reinforced by them they constitute a force which is difficult to overcome. They at least make it easy to explain away minor differences, and that is all that is necessary in order that the friendly relations between the United States and Japan may continue to bless both nations by enabling them to realize their own possibilities and to exercise a wholesome influence for international peace. *Edwin Maxey.*

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A FEW OF THE IMPORTANT PAPERS APPEARING IN

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Mr. Heaton has a world-wide reputation as an expert on postal and cable matters. No man in the English Parliament wields so great an influence on the public mind in regard to postal subjects as this great champion of cheap postal rates. His paper will be one of the notable magazine articles of the season.

WORLD PEACE. By Rev. H. W. Thomas, D.D.

This paper is a valuable accession to the peace literature of our incoming age—the age which we hope and believe will witness the establishment of universal compulsory arbitration between nations that shall mean the end of the war and the dawn of world-wide peace.

THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF GREAT EXPOSITIONS. By Frank Webster Smith, Principal of the Normal Training School, Paterson, N. J.

In view of the Jamestown Exposition this paper by Professor Smith is as timely as it is discriminating, suggestive and helpful. Education, democracy, peace, and justice,—these four things should challenge the serious thought and efficient aid of all earnest men and women.

MUNICIPAL ART IN REPRESENTATIVE SOUTHERN CITIES. By George Wharton James.

We expect in the July issue of *The Arena* to open our series of papers on municipal art in Southern cities. These will embrace a consideration of conditions in New Orleans, Galveston, Houston and San Antonio. They will be profusely illustrated, and will, we think, be features of special interest to all persons interested in the development of the municipalities in our great Republic.

TWO VIEWS ON CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

One is a paper embracing philosophical objections to Christian Science as seen by Mr. Edward C. Farnsworth, and an answer to these objections, from the view-point of a leading Christian Scientist. The latter paper is from the pen of Mr. John B. Willis, A.M., one of the editors of the Christian Science Journal and Sentinel. These two views, we are sure, will be of special interest to the reading public at the present time.

CHILD LABOR: A RATIONAL STATEMENT. By E. E. Pratt.

Mr. Pratt presents the other side of the child labor question. He appears to favor child labor, certainly in some circumstances, and he regards articles such as the notable papers by Mr. Markham in *The Cosmopolitan* and the article by our own correspondent, Miss Stoy, as misleading in some particulars. In the interests of fair play, *The Arena* presents his views, as they are ably presented, although we cannot share his conclusions.

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM. By James MacKaye, author of "The Economy of Happiness."

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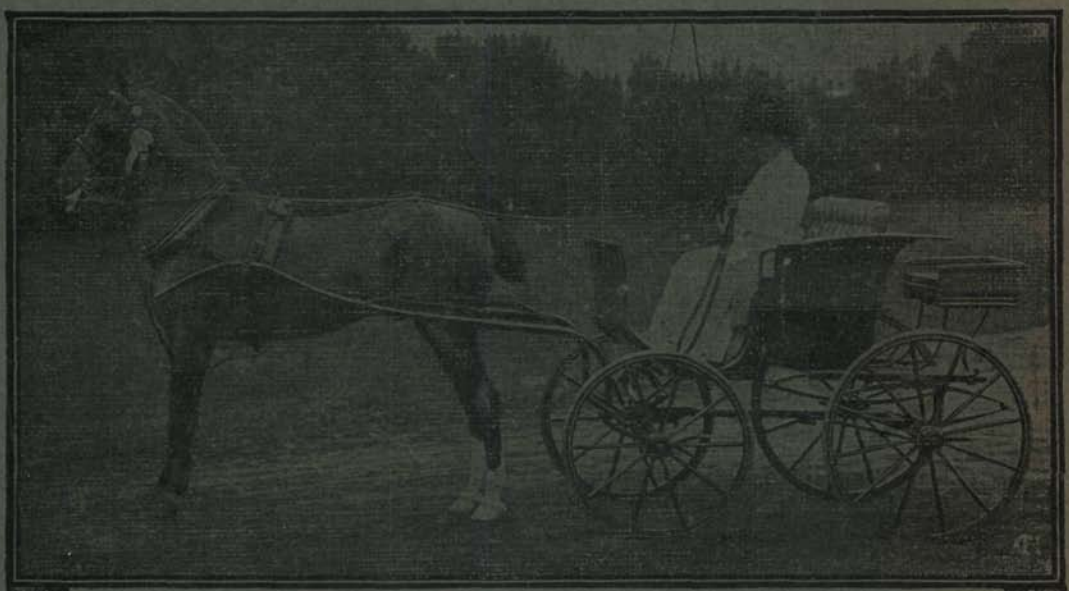

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